# Chapter 3: Longitudinal studies TL English

# 3.1 TL and SL organization of temporality

English and Punjabi are both Indo-European languages but their ways of referring to various temporal features of and relations among situations are very different. As English is the best studied language of the world, the variety of the available analyses of the TMA (Tense, Mood, Aspect) system of English is indeed bewildering. Naturally, one encounters conflicting accounts of the same phenomenon in the language. Punjabi, on the other hand, is perhaps the least and worst studied major language of the world, and no detailed and reliable (i.e. free from Eurocentred bias) grammatical description of Punjabi has been published yet. This being the case with the two languages, the following brief descriptions have been prepared for our specific purposes, on the following assumptions:

- i. Any language can refer to any conceivable temporal features and relations. What is significant is how a language does this, i.e., the ways in which it employs its lexico-grammatical system for this purpose. The "same" non-linguistic situations can be symbolized differently by an adult acquirer's SL and TL, and this can have interesting consequences.
- ii. While it is the utterance, as a whole and within a particular linguistic and non-linguistic context, that "refers to time", it is a universal tendency in human languages that (a) the inherent temporal features of matters (situations) or Aktionsart, (b) embedding in time or aspect and (c) external temporal properties or localization of events in time are relevant to the meaning expressed by the verbal root (in this order. (Bybee 1985.) (a) is more often lexicalized than (b) and (c), and (b) is certainly more relevant and more intimately linked to the meaning of the verb root than (c). (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Bybee 1985.) How the major verb forms of a language express these temporal features, singly or in combination, is extremely important for our purpose.
- iii. A verb form has a basic or primary or prototypical meaning, associated or secondary meanings and associated interpretations inferred by implicature in given linguistic and non-linguistic contexts. (Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985.)
- iv. Some verb forms can be grouped into pairs, so that one member of the pair is marked for a certain semantic feature and the other is unmarked. The uses of the semantically unmarked member (which is very often morphologically unmarked as well) are less specific and statistically more numerous.

# 3.1.1 TL (English) organization of temporality

Because of, rather than in spite of, the fact that English is the best studied language in history, it is hard to specify in a few pages how English "refers to time". So we concentrate on just those facts which seem to us relevant for our own purpose. Since it is the verb(al group) in English that is the nucleus of the clause and it is the meaning expressed by the verb to which temporal distinctions are most relevant, we first look at the morphological forms of the English main and auxiliary/modal verbs and their basic or prototypical meaning.

(a) Verb forms of English

The following classification of the verb forms of English is now generally accepted:

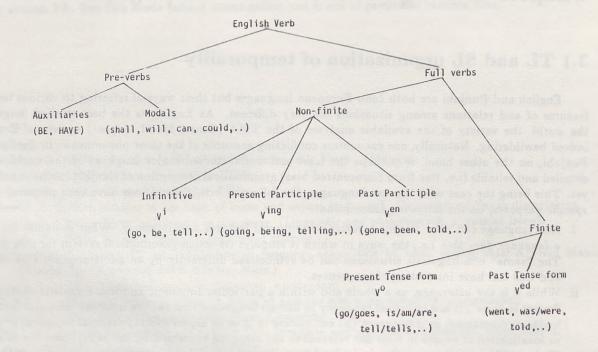


Figure 1

#### (b) Semantic markedness

We can assign the following semantic features to the forms of the English verb:

#### a. Main Verb Forms

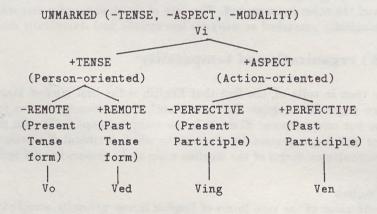


Figure 2a: Semantic Features of the English Full Verbs

#### b. Pre-verbs

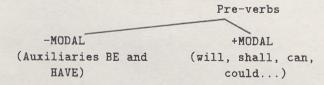


Figure 2b: Semantic Features of the English Preverbs

A +MODAL form is always +TENSE, and a -MODAL form is +TENSE only when it is not preceded by a Modal in a verbal group.

It should be noted that in this chapter the initial capitals (e.g. Past Tense) are used for the traditional names of the morphological forms, which may or may not be semantically appropriate.

In a finite verbal group in a non-embedded clause, TENSE is obligatory in the sense that the first member of the verbal group must be +TENSE, and a -TENSE form like Vi, Ving and Ven must be preceded by a +TENSE modal or auxiliary. In other words, the grammar of English forces its speaker to locate deictically every situation referred to by a finite clause to the deictic NOW or the time of utterance (TU).

The basic meaning of the +TENSE Ved form is +REMOTE rather than +PAST (Catford 1982, Kress 1977) because it can refer to hypothetical and unreal (i.e. logically remote) situations as well, e.g. in

"If I met Shakespeare in a London pub today..."

uttered in full knowledge of the fact that Shakespeare died nearly four hundred years ago. Similarly, the basic meaning of the unmarked Vo form is -REMOTE.

There has been a controversy whether or not aspect is a relevant category in the English grammar. The most commonly held view today is that it is. (Palmer 1974, Comrie 1976, Kilby 1984, Bache 1985, Dahl 1985.) It appears that +PERFECTIVE (or Aspect A) is a marked feature of the aspectual Ven form. The unmarked aspectual form Ving is -PERFECTIVE. It focuses more on the fact that the situation has not terminated, which implies that it is ongoing (Kilby 1984). As far as the Ven and the Ving forms in themselves are concerned, they refer to the purely internal temporal constituency of situations without locating the situations, deictically or in some other way, to an external point in time. This is evidenced by the fact that these forms can be used as adjectives, as in "flowing water" and "broken glass". When they are used as verbs, it is the auxiliaries, adverbials or the context, and not the Ven or Ving form, that relates the situation to a point in time. The Aspect A form Ven refers to a bounded situation as a whole and focuses on its termination. The fact that often a Ven form is used in discourse to indicate sequentiality does not make sequentiality a part of the meaning of Ven form expressing Aspect A (cf. Comrie 1985:28).

# (c) How English refers to the three types of temporality

#### i. External temporal relations

Any good grammar of English describes in detail how English refers to the various deictic and non-deictic (anaphoric) temporal relations. Here we can only briefly mention some important temporal relations and how English refers to them.

The anaphoric BEFORE relation in the past ("past in the past") is referred to with the verbal group "had + Ven". In this group, the past tense form of the auxiliary locates the whole situation in the past and the aspectual form Ven symbolizes the situation as completed. The combination as a whole refers to the situation as having terminated before a point of time in the past (contextually understood or adverbially referred to). Anaphoric BEFORE relation in the future time ("past in the future") is referred to, generally, by using "will/shall + have + Ven".

BEFORE + "current relevance" is referred to by using "have/has + Ven". The terminal point of the situation or its effect/relevance fully or partially overlaps the time frame which includes TU.

The relation SIMULTANEOUS or CONTAINED in TU temporal frame is referred to in at least two different ways – either by symbolizing the situation as non-remote relative to TU (by using the Vo form) or by viewing it as non-terminated (and using "BE + Ving" verbal group). The point in time to which a situation is simultaneous is located either deictically by using the tensed form of BE or by using a modal verb or adverbial, or is contextually understood.

The deictic AFTER relation (or future time) can be referred to in various ways, depending on how the speaker modally views the situation. Generally, the combination "modal + Vi" is used. The most commonly used modals are "shall" and "will". But other combinations such as "BE + Ving", "going to + Vi", "BE to + Ving" and even Vo can be used.

Finer gradations of time like ADJACENT, DISTANT etc. are expressed with the help of adverbials. Sequentiality in the main story line of the narrative is expressed by using Principle of Natural Order (PNO), i.e., making the narrative order reflect the real life chronology of situations and by using conjunctions like "before" and "after" and adverbials like "subsequently", "prior to that" etc. The verbal group "had + Ven" is employed generally to refer to sequentiality in the backgrounded part of the narrative.

ii. Embedding in time (aspectual notions)

The principal verb forms Ven and Ving are used to express Aspect A and Aspect B respectively. Aspect A seems to be marked as +PERFECTIVE.

#### iii. Inherent temporal features

The lexical meaning of an English verb includes features such as +CHANGE, +GRADUAL, +DISTINCT STAGE etc. Sometimes the inherent temporal meaning (Aktionsart) of a verb and the meaning of the morphological form it assumes interact. For example, the English verb "sneeze" has the features -GRADUAL and +DISTINCT STAGE. So the meaning of the Ving form (-PERFECTIVE, i.e., nonterminated) is basically incompatible with the inherent meaning of "sneeze". But "sneezing" does occur in English. The interaction of Aktionsart and aspect results in the semantic features +ITERATIVE here. There are also verbs like "believe", "hate" etc. which do not occur as verbs in the Ving form presumably because their inherent meaning is such that the mental states referred to by these verbs are not viewed as having a terminal point. So the use of the "-ing" suffix would be redundant.

# (d) Some relevant phonetic considerations

In the colloquial everyday varieties of English spoken by the common people, the most commonly used regular past tense and past participle endings /d/ and /t/ are weakly articulated and remain practically inaudible, at least to those adult immigrants whose native languages do not treat unstressed syllables and their sounds in this way. Moreover, in some dialects of English (particularly the ones spoken in London and the Midlands) this /t/ or /d/ is very often replaced by a glottal stop /?/. This being the case, the past tense and the past participle forms of most regular English verbs sound to the foreign ears (initially at least) as if they were homophonous to the Vo form. /help/ and /help/, for example, both sound as /help/ to most Punjabis. The Ving form and the Ven forms ending in -en are, on the other hand, phonetically conspicuous in colloquial speech. These phonetic peculiarities of the English verb forms are significant.

# 3.1.2 SL (Punjabi) organization of temporality

As already pointed out, no fully detailed and reliable grammar of Punjabi has been published yet. The following description of Punjabi is based on an unpublished work of the author of this chapter (Bhardwaj 1987). Works like Gill and Gleason 1969 and Bahl 1964 have also been consulted.

#### (a) Verb forms of Punjabi

The major verb forms of Punjabi can be grouped into the following morphological classes:

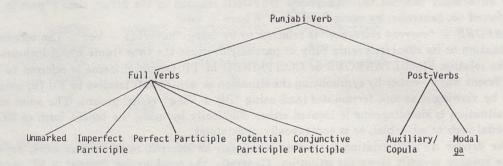
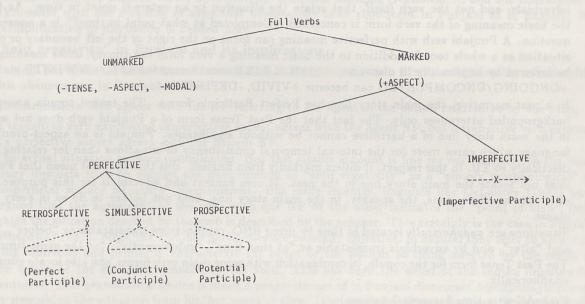


Figure 3: Verb forms of Punjabi

# (b) Semantic features of the Punjabi verb forms

i. Main verb forms



The opposition among the forms marked for aspect is equipollent (no form being more marked than the others). The Perfective system looks like a tense system, but it is not.

Figure 4a: Semantic features of the Punjabi full verbs

#### ii. Post-verbs

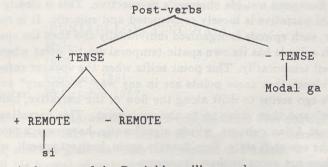


Figure 4b: Semantic features of the Punjabi auxiliary verbs

# (c) How Punjabi refers to the three types of temporality

i. External temporal relations

Only one Punjabi verb (the copula, which lies outside the main verb system) marks time deictically. Only this verb in Punjabi is marked for tense (past only, the basic meaning of which is +REMOTE rather than +PAST). Since the category of tense is not obligatory in a Punjabi clause (as it is in English), Punjabi focuses on internal temporal constituency of situations rather than on relating them to TU. Whenever the speaker wants to refer to a past (deictically BEFORE) relation, he can use the past tense form of the copula. But most often, the aspectual form Perfect Participle conveys, by implicature, the sense of pastness. However, any main verb form of Punjabi can refer to a situation located anywhere in relation to TU. The AFTER TU relation is generally (but not invariably) expressed by adding the modal particle ga to the UNMARKED verb form. In this respect, Punjabi is similar to English, which commonly refers to a future situation by adding a modal auxiliary to the unmarked infinitive form Vi. But it cannot be over-emphasized that most major verb forms of Punjabi are aspectual forms. The basic meaning of Perfect Participle form is +COMPLETED/COMPLETE with focus on the right boundary. The situation referred to is not related to any outside point in time. It is discourse and adverbials, and not the verb itself, that relate the situation to an external point in time. As far as the basic meaning of the verb form is concerned, "Completed at what point in time?" is a nonsensible question. A Punjabi verb with perfective meaning can focus on the right or the left boundary or on the situation as a whole too. In addition to the basic meaning a verb form can convey, other meanings can be inferred by implicature in discourse. +COMPLETED can become +PAST, +DEFINITE etc., and +ONGOING/UNCOMPLETED can become +VIVID, -DEFINITE etc.

In a past narrative, the main story line has Perfect Participle forms. The tensed copula appears in backgrounded utterances only. The fact that the Past Tense form of a Punjabi verb does not appear in the main story line of a narrative cannot be without significance. Punjabi is an aspect-prominent language which cares more for the internal temporal constituency of situations than for relating them deictically to TU. In this respect, it differs markedly from English. But this does not mean that Punjabi does not locate the main story line in the past. It uses context and adverbials for this purpose. But once this has been done, the speaker, in the main story line, does not bother to do so in every finite clause.

Situations are anaphorically located in time by using PNO, conjunctions translatable as "before", "and" and "after", and by adverbials translatable as "at that time", "subsequently", "at the same time" etc. The Past Tense form for the copula, in combination with some main verb forms, can also locate situations anaphorically.

## ii. Embedding in time (aspectual notions)

As we have said above, all the main verb forms of Punjabi except the Unmarked, are aspectual forms. All the perfective forms view the situation as bounded (completed or complete, depending on the context and the lexical meaning of the verb). The Perfect Participle form focuses on the right boundary, the Potential Participle form on the left boundary, and the Conjunctive Participle form on the situation as a whole. The Imperfect Participle form can be said to combine the meaning of the English Vo and Ving forms in most uses.

The grammatical fact that Punjabi is an aspect-prominent language has deeper cultural roots. It is a prominent cultural trait of the South Asian people to adopt an inside participant's perspective as opposed to the typically European outside observer's perspective. This is clearly reflected in the Indian narrative style. A Punjabi narrative is loosely constructed and episodic. It is not the story as a whole that is organized. Rather, each episode is organized individually and then the episodes are strung in the chronological order. Each episode has its own spatio-temporal deictic point where the organizing ego of the speaker seems to dwell temporarily. This point shifts when the speaker comes to the next episode. There is no linguistic evidence that these points are in any way "secondary" to the "primary" deictic point TU. The narrator's ego seems to drift along the flow of the narrative, halt at a significant point to "look before and after" and then move on to the next point. This narrative style is typical of the South Asian and Southeast Asian cultures, which, significantly, have aspect-prominent languages. We call this narrative style the ego-shift style. Significantly again, indirect speech, which adopts an outside observer's perspective, does not occur in these languages.

The point of deictic temporal reference does shift in English when a speaker uses direct speech or "historical present" for the sake of vividness. But this is done for special effects only. In Punjabi, however, this happens everywhere, and not just in quoted speech. In English and other European languages, this is something "marked" and is used for special effects only. In the Indian languages, on the other hand, the ego-shift style of narrative and participant's perspective is the "unmarked" one. This is evidenced in all the facets of traditional Indian culture (painting, philosophy etc.).

Situation-internal perspective also results in the speaker's paying meticulous attention to detail, both at the discourse- and utterance-level. This fact has been grammaticalized by all the Indian languages. A speaker of Punjabi mentions every single action where a speaker of English would use a single verb encompassing several actions referred to by a speaker of Punjabi by using different verbs. For example, a Punjabi speaker would say "lift, grasp, go" in place of "take away".

Predominance of the perfective, passive and passive-like constructions in Punjabi shows the language's

predilection and fondness for viewing most situations as completed/complete (Bhardwaj 1987).

iii. Inherent temporal features

Punjabi verbs, like English verbs, have inherent temporal meaning (Aktionsart), and the interaction of Aktionsart with the meaning of aspectual morphology is as significant in Punjabi as in English. No exemplification or discussion is needed here.

#### (d) "Split ergativity" in Punjabi and its implications

Punjabi has what has been known for some time as "split ergativity". Briefly, and to rather oversimplify, this phenomenon in Punjabi involves:

- i. An intransitive verb agrees with the NP referring to the agent of the action referred to by the verb;
- ii. A transitive verb expressing imperfective aspect agrees with the agent NP, but a transitive verb expressing perfective aspect agrees with the patient NP.

The actual situation is more complicated. But this simple account is fine for our purpose. In the past, many linguists tried to dismiss the phenomenon of "split ergativity" as a "simply morphological" or "superficial surface structure" phenomenon. But more recently, linguists like DeLancey (1981) have argued that the agreement of the verb with one NP or the other indicates the "point of view" from which the situation denoted by the verb is described by the sepaker. This certainly is the case in Punjabi (Bhardwaj 1987). Since the Punjabi participles are basically adjectival in nature, they refer to an action only indirectly and primarily characterise the agent or the patient as being affected by the result of the action or the situation denoted by the verb. This has been the belief of the Indian linguists for centuries. This grammatical device is made a pragmatic use of in Punjabi discourse: highlighting someone by describing the situation from his/her point of view. (For a detailed description, see Bhardwaj 1987.)

# 3.2 Longitudinal study of temporality for Punjabi-speaking learner, MADAN

# 3.2.0 Background information on the informant

MADAN (PUNJABI LONGITUDINAL)

Sex: Male Date of birth: 1959

Arrival in Britain: February 1981
Date of first encounter: 28 October 1982

Madan's native dialect is the Malwai dialect of Punjabi, which does not differ in any significant way from the socalled "standard dialect". Like every Punjabi of today, he can understand and speak (with "accent", of course) simple Hindi, which is grammatically very similar to Punjabi.

Madan received all his formal education in his native village, where he spent five years at a primary school and one year at a high school. In the high school, he was taught the English alphabet and some English words and simple sentences like "This is a cat". After leaving school, he worked at the family farm for some years. Then he went to work in the Middle East. He spent about three years in Afghanistan, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. He tried to manage with whatever little English he had and picked up only a few expressions of Arabic. He came to England in 1981 for an arranged marriage. His wife and wife's sister (who is his brother's wife) are bilingual speakers of Punjabi and English. They all live together as a joint familily. But they use very little English at home. Madan picked up his English mainly at work, by observing the speech of both his English workmates and supervisors and his Punjabi workmates speaking English. Sometimes he worked at his brother's corner shop in the evening and spoke to his English customers. He never had enough practice with the English alphabet to be able to read English books and newspapers.

Below, we analyse and comment upon a representative selection of extracts from interviews with Madan. These extracts cover 29 months of the period of observation (October 1982 to February 1985), at the following

#### intervals:

Extract	Months of stay
Cycle 1	
A, B	19
C	21
D	24
Cycle 2	
A-E	30
Cycle 3	
A-C	48

The extracts analysed in this chapter were carefully selected, after scanning the whole data of each of the informants, in such a way that each new development in their reference to time was taken care of when it first appeared.

## 3.2.1 Cycle 1

# 3.2.1.1 Temporality in texts

#### 3.2.1.1.1 Analysis of texts

## MADAN, Encounter 1, dated 20.10.82 (File LPEMA 11) (19 Months of stay)

#### Presentation

This narrative is extracted from the very first interview recorded at the informant's home. The TL researcher asks Madan about his first trip abroad (to Afghanistan and the Arab countries). The transcriptional conventions are:

```
01, 02 etc. : Madan's utterances
[t: ......] : Interviewer's utterances
\ < \ > : Madan's gestures/researcher's comments
\ <= ......\ > : Meaning intended by Madan
( X X X ) : Inaudible words
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The text has been edited, i.e., only what is strictly relevant is presented. Speaker's pauses, hesitations, gap-fillers etc., unless considered relevant, have also been omitted.

[t: ?what did you do (in the punjab)? 01 punjab i do ... agriculture farm 02 before i go ... seventy five ... in the arab country [t: ?which one?] afghanistan ... to kabul afghanistan to turkey ... to antakia 04 05 to syria to lebanon 06 after there to syria 07 after go jordan 08

09 jordan to india
[t: ?and did you work in all these countries?]

10 i work in the jordan
[t: ?in the farm or ... in the factory?]

12 yes building
[t: ?did you lay the bricks?]

no i the labour [t: ?whats jordan like?]

14 i like it [t: ?did you stay in kabul?]

kabul i stay six monthno job there

[t: ?did you learn any other language?]

17 language afghani

18 kabul stay indian people plenty

19 i speak indian man

20 i want that like that
 \ < makes gestures with hand\ >

21 afghani language very funny

22 no good kabul

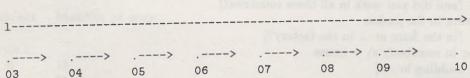
23 i dont like it
 [t: ?are there many factories there?]

24 no good people in there [t: ?do they have jobs?]

25 no jobs

#### Comments

- 1. It is clear that both the interviewer and the interviewee, in close cooperative collaboration, by questionanswer sequences, drawing inferences and implications from each other's utterances, temporalize the state of affairs under reference. It is not the informant alone who constructs the narrative.
- 2. It is the relative order of events and the internal temporal constituency of events, rather than deictic localization of events, which Madan seems to concentrate upon. Once the initial event has been temporally located relative to the time of utterance (TU), Madan does not seem to bother about any fixed time of deictic temporal reference. Rather, it is T (a native speaker of English) who, in her tensed questions, linguistically locates the situations in time relative to the TU. Madan simply uses her questions for temporal scaffolding. Most probably, it is the content of the questions within the context, rather than the verb marked for past tense, which helps Madan locate the situations in time relative to the TU.
- 3. The number of temporal distinctions (of the three types discussed above) that Madan is able to refer to linguistically is very limited. It is mainly the relation of "before" and "after" that he spontaneously refers to. Aspectual features of the situations are not grammatically indicated. Verbs are meant to convey simply their lexical meaning where it is indispensable but is not clear from the context or from the meanings of the other expressions used. It is from our knowledge of the world that we "understand", for example, the sense of "whenever" in 20. It is reasonable to conclude that his limited repertoire is not able to express many temporal distinctions linguistically.
- 4. There is no *linguistic* indication that Madan, as the narrative progresses, uses the TU as a point of deictic temporal reference for all the states and events. His comments on the situations are either formulaic expressions or are formally tenseless.
- 5. The events in the main narrative can be graphically represented as under:



It is a straightforward narrative constructed on the Principle of Natural Order (PNO) with the minimum use of the linguistic means for localizing matters in time.

- 6. Madan's use of "before" in 02 may be non-TL-like. As is shown by the following extract from the same interview, he seems to use "before" in the sense of "at first" or "first of all". At this stage he is simply incapable of using "before" as a subordinator whose use would violate the PNO. In 02 above, too, Madan seems to use (like another Punjabi informant Ravinder studied below) the verb "go" in the sense of "start". He seems to say something like: "In seventy-five I started for the Arab countries", and mark the first event of the series with "before". In other words, "before" in Madan's usage (also) relates cataphorically to what follows, and not (only) anaphorically to an earlier state of affairs.
  - B [t: and ... when you came here to England?how did you get your job? ?was it a friend who helped you?]
    - 26 my brother is (XX)

      [t: ah yeah ?how long has he worked there?)
    - 27 about (X) before i work in ... coventry ... shoes factory ... indian factory
    - 28 i work there about ... three four month
    - 29 after i come back here thompson and shipley steel company ... one year

Madan misunderstands T's question preceding 27. But it is clear that "before" in 27 does not relate the utterance to preceding but a following situation.

# MADAN, Encounter 2, dated 20.12.82 (File: LPEMA 12) (21 months of stay)

- C 30 my gaffer ... he dont like it union
  - 31 not everybody member union ... some thirty three man woman
  - 32 before er last week six man go out
  - 33 my gaffer say
  - 33.1 "yeah no work here"
    - [t: ?why did he say that?]
      i thinks like that he no union \ <=he</pre>
    - wants no union\ >
  - 35 union i dont like it
  - [t: ?are you in the union?]
  - 36 i before ... i do union
  - 37 now i have stop
  - 38 i want work
  - 39 today i tell the union member
  - 39.1 "i dont want in union
  - 39.2 i dont like it
  - 39.3 i want a work
  - 39.4 no money" \ <=i have no money\ >

#### Comments

- 32 It is not clear (even from intonation) whether Madan wants to say "before last week" or self-corrects. Probably, he uses "before" in the sense of "in the past" and then he specifies the time more clearly by saying "last week". He may be using "er" to gain time while he tries to recall the time of the event.
- 33 It is not clear whether the gaffer said these words to the workers whom he made redundant or to the members of the union to justify his conduct. The chronological relation between 32 and 33 is not clear.
- 36 "Before" is related to "now" of 37.
- 37 "have stop". Madan has picked up this expression from somewhere. (He has not heard the final /t/ in /stopt/.) But he is using it as a formulaic expression here, very appropriately though.
- 39 Quoted speech is temporally anchored in the situation being referred to.

There is hardly any narrative sustained beyond the minimal one or two narrative clauses. But the extract does show that Madan is gaining competence in constructing narratives in his interlanguage. While narrating a story, Madan can, in the "backgrounded" utterances outside the main story line, relate the matters of the TU, comment on the relevance of the matters etc. Madan's use of the direct quoted speech is noteworthy (specially because, as we shall see, the Italian informants use direct speech very rarely and for the purpose of creating an impression of vividness. Moreover, they quote just an utterance or two in this way.) Madan, however, can quote a long string of utterances and sometimes embed a whole narrative within the main (matrix) narrative in this way. His English, like his native language Punjabi, does not have indirect speech at all. How Madan uses quoted speech in the following extract is noteworthy:

# MADAN, Encounter 4, dated 26.3.83 (File LPEMA 14) (24 months of stay)

- D 40 i told ... manager
  - 40.1 "i want a overtime everyday one hour and saturday"
  - 41 manager tell me
  - 41.1 "i am sorry no work"
  - 42 i told
  - 42.1 "look three men and woman work everyday
  - 42.2 after half past four working here
  - 42.3 saturday sunday working"
  - 43 he say
  - 43.1 "no speak" \ <= shut up\ >

#### Comments

This little narrative is remarkable in some respects.

1. The verb "told" has appeared. But there is no system-internal justification for using the label Past Tense for "told". The mere fact that the situation under reference lies in the past (BEFORE the TU) does not warrant the interpretation that "told" refers to a past event. To refer to equally "past" events Madan uses "tell" in 41, "told" in 42 and "say" in 43. It is significant that the agent of "told" is Madan himself and that of "tell" and "say" is the manager. The "pastness" of the situations does not account for this contrastive use. The +REMOTE feature of the English Past Tense form fares even worse. It is the speaker's own words (uttered in the past) which are more immediate, and a third person's words are somewhat remote. If remoteness were involved, "told" should go with the manager. No causal factor other than the SL influence seems to explain the phenomena. In a Punjabi narrative, the quoted words of the speech act participants (the speaker and the hearer) are generally introduced with the Perfect Participle form translatable as "told/said" and the words of a third person are introduced with the Imperfect Participle form translatable as "telling/saying". +PERFECTIVE or the completed becomes, metaphorically, "definite" or "whose accuracy can be vouchsafed", and the quoted words of only the speaker can be vouchsafed for their accuracy (and only those of the hearer can be immediately corrected if inaccurate). This strongly suggests that "told" in Madan's English is semantically closer to the English Past Participle form.

- 2. "Work" and "working" are also used contrastively. There can be two explanations for this contrastive use:
  - a "Work", as in the TL, is used for a habitual activity indicated by the adverb "everyday" too, and "working" for an action actually going on at the moment of speaking.
  - b "Work" denotes an "unmarked" activity and "working" an activity marked as +PROGRESSIVE and by implicature as prolonged and/or vivid.

It becomes clear from an analysis of the later interviews that (b) is the correct interpretation. Moreover, this interpretation makes perfect sense in this context. In 42.1, Madan simply refers to the fact that three men and women work overtime in the factory. In 42.2 and 42.3, he wants to present a vivid picture of these people by mentioning the exact time – after half past four when other workers go home, and on Saturdays and Sundays when others stay at home.

This extract is an extremely important one. It marks an evolutionary development in Madan's system of referring to time in his English. Two marked semantic poles in the verb system of Madan's English have appeared. +PERFECTIVE and +PROGRESSIVE (which is not-PERFECTIVE). The Vo form, which, by itself, simply indicated the action as taking place without localizing it in time and without marking it as completed or ongoing etc., is now used contrastively. But it is still an unmarked form. When Vo contrasts with Ving ("working"), it covers the semantic territory left over by the Ving form. Similarly, Vo contrasts with Ven ("told") also.

Madan most probably heard "told" used more frequently as a Past Tense verb than as a Past Participle verb. But he adopted it as an aspectual, and not as a tensed, form. The equivalent of "told" in Punjabi used for referring to a past event is an aspectual form. He acquired a TL verb form and assigned to it the basic and secondary meanings of its SL equivalent. But Madan's system is not completely SL-like. In Punjabi, the opposition of the equivalents of "told" and "telling" is equipollent. In Madan's English, Ven and Ving do not contrast directly with each other. Rather, both contrast individually with Vo. The two contrasts Vo-Ven and Vo-Ving constitute autonomous sub-systems in his English.

It is also noteworthy that Ving and Ven, as verb form, refer to the purely internal temporal constituency of situations, without relating the situation deictically or anaphorically to any outside point in time. This is the case with them both in the TL and in Madan's interlanguage. However, Madan extends the meanings of the two forms metaphorically in his own Punjabi-like way.

#### 3.2.1.1.2 Indirect means for expressing temporality

As we pointed out above, Madan's repertoire of linguistic elements (lexical and grammatical) is underdeveloped by the TL standards. Therefore, Madan either has to use discursive means (principles of discourse
organization) or has to depend on the pragmatics of the situation, i.e., the hearer's world-knowledge, the
knowledge shared by the interlocutors, the Gricean principles of implicature (Grice 1975) etc. But it should
be noted that this dependence of a speaker of an interlanguage on such indirect means is only relatively higher
than that of a speaker of an ordinary language. There is no conversational discourse in which such indirect
means are not used. Elliptical sentences, pronouns and other pro forms, Gricean implicature, dependence
on world-knowledge and shared knowledge etc. characterize all types of linguistic discourse.

In all the extracts analyzed above, we find that it is rarely that Madan explicitly localizes a situation in time deictically relative to the TU. The only expressions we encounter are "last week" (32), "now" (37), and "today" (39). The non-linguistic or situational context is such that BEFORE TU is the default value which a state of affairs under reference has unless it is explicitly stated that this is not the case. "Last week" is used for precisely localizing the event in the past. For localizing situations anaphorically, Madan depends mostly on the PNO, although he also uses the conjunctions "before" and "after". In the narrative discourse, there is also a "default value" principle of interpretation: unless explicitly indicated to the contrary the narrative order reflects the real life chronology of situations. Madan does exploit the full potential of this principle.

Madan also depends on the world-knowledge of the interviewer. It is on the basis of this knowledge that one infers that 20 refers to iterative events. So the conjunction "whenever" is "understood" in 20: whenever Madan wanted to communicate something to an Afghan he used gestures.

# 3.2.1.2 Madan's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.2.1.2.1 External temporal relations

For expressing these relations, Madan mostly depends on indirect means (as we have pointed out above). The linguistic means he uses are:

Expression Relation(s) expressed

before BEFORE after AFTER

now SIMULTANEOUS today SIMULTANEOUS

last week BEFORE

Notes The use of "before" to refer to the relation "first in the series" seems to have developed earlier (in 02 and 27, Encounter 1). "Before" and "after" seem to mutually define each other at this stage. But this has to do more with the use of the word "before" in discourse than with the meaning of the word. "Now", "last week" and "today" locate the situations deictically; "before" and "after" do so anaphorically.

#### 3.2.1.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

While it is the utterance as a whole that expresses aspectual notions, we deal with the aspect-denoting verbal morphology in this section. Our learner, while trying to make sense of the TL speech going on around him, picks up the verb forms which mainly refer to states and events and tries to discover a system in (or impose a system upon) the verb forms he acquires. His main task here is to attribute basic or prototypical meaning(s) to these verb forms.

So, we find that much more interesting than Madan's reference to external temporal relations is the emergence of the aspect-denoting verb-morphology in his English. In Encounter 4 (24 months of stay), Ving form "working" and Ven form "told" appear simultaneously. They are used contrastively with the Vo forms "work" and "tell" respectively. As we have already discussed above, the basic meaning of the Ving and the Ven forms in Madan's English is almost the same as in the TL. But Madan uses the Ving form symbolically to mark the situation as +VIVID and Ven form "told" to mark the quoted speech as +DEFINITE. The latter is perfectly in accordance with the Punjabi use of the Perfect Participle form. The former use (a typical feature of the English spoken by the Punjabi immigrants) is a more complicated phenomenon whose roots also lie in the SL. +ONGOING becomes, symbolically, +VIVID, rather like the "historical present" of English but with the significant difference that +ONGOING is not exactly the same thing as -REMOTE. (We discuss the difference below while analyzing data from the Italian informants.)

Before the emergence of verbal morphology, the Vo was not unmarked but neutral, i.e., conveying simply the lexical meaning of the verb, rather in the manner the English Infinitive form Vi does. After the emergence of Ving and Ven, Vo is unmarked in two different sub-systems which have not integrated yet. The meaning of the unmarked form is defined negatively, as -X while +X is the meaning of the marked form.

#### 3.2.1.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### Self-referential expressions

Since "meaning implies choice", we discuss in this section only those inherent temporal features of situations which Madan has *chosen* to refer to *contrastively*, by choosing a linguistic expression in contrast with another expression or with its own absence. The following adverbial expressions are *self-referential* in the sense that they do not relate the situation they qualify to any external point in time. These expressions refer to Aktionsarten in the broader sense (cf. Bache 1985:9-14). The temporal notions expressed are:

Notion Durative six month

three four month

Iterative everyday Punctual half past four

seventy five

# 3.2.1.3 Summary of the expressions in cyle I

We find that in Madan's developing system of temporal expressions, it is the expressions dealing with the aspectual notions and those dealing with the inherent temporal features of situations that reveal his linguistic creativity. Towards the close of Cycle 1, Madan displays an ability to use verb-morphology meaningfully (i.e., contrastively) and an ability to create moderately complex adverbial expressions. For expressing external temporal relations, Madan uses either indirect means or set phrases or conjunctions.

# 3.2.2 Cycle II

#### 3.2.2.1 Temporality in texts

#### 3.2.2.1.1 Analysis of texts

# MADAN, Encounter 8, dated 10.11.83 (File:LPEMA 22) (30 months of stay)

01 my manager say

01.1 "madan i want job dinner time

01.2 you go

01.3 no dinner

01.4 you work start

02 i say

02.1 "i am sorry"

03 he say

03.1 "no ... madan i want job

03.2 you carry on

03.3 no dinner"

04 i sav

04.1 "alright"

[t: ?is that everyday?]

not everyday "sometime"

#### Comments

Madan gives no clue that he is narrating a series of iterative events and not a series of once-happened ones. A TL speaker would use the finite verbs in 01, 02, 03 and 04 in different tense forms for the two different types of narrative (and, of course, he would not use the direct quoted speech so much). It is the interviewer's question that elicits the information that Madan is not referring to once-happened events. Madan's tendency to dramatize the situations is clearly discernible. We have seen that the Ven form "told" of the irregular verb "tell" has appeared in Madan's speech. But the Ven form "said" of "say" has not appeared yet. (And, probably, it did not appear at all.) However, Madan's pronunciation of "say" is often ambiguous between "said" and "say", as we shall see).

- B 06 i working overtime
  - 07 my manager tell me any time
  - 07.1 "madan i want job this done"
  - 08 i say
- 08.1 "alright"
- 09 i after no dinner
- 10 i dont bother
  - 11.1 "you want job
  - 11.2 i am ready any time"
  - 12 i work start

#### Analysis and comments

- 06 The use of the Ving form is more significant than it appears to be at first sight. As later extracts will make it clear, Madan starts a narrative or a chunk of it with the main character doing something or entering the scene, and uses the Ving form to refer to that activity. Ving form in his English, serves the purpose of highlighting the agent, and along with it, the activity he is engaged in. The later extracts analysed below make this clear. Of course, the use of the verb form, if the the auxiliary "am" were added, would be perfectly TL-like. Madan is engaged in an activity which has not come to an end. But he most probably means more than just this.
- 07 "Any time" explicitly indicates iteration. Madan is quoting the manager's words somewhat inaccurately. But he has not acquired the use of this grammatical pattern or the use of "done" outside this construction.
- 11 These words are imaginatively, and not actually, addressed to the manager. Hence the absence of "say" or "tell".
- 12 12 can follow 09 in the narrative without falsifying the situation because it is a narrative of iterative events. Madan knows that 'usually he cannot have his dinner "after" he has started work according to the manager's wishes. In real life the non-event referred to in 09 follows the one in 12.
  - C 13 thursday ... my friend in family ... he come down my house
    - 14 after he/me and my friends wife ... and friends wifes brother ... i am going/coming in the town seven star
    - 15 drink beer

#### Comments

"i am going/coming"

The Ving form and self-correction may not be insignificant. It is well-known that the three primary axes of deictic reference - EGO, HERE, and NOW - cannot be entirely separated in discourse. (See Herman Parret 1985.) Actor-orienting and spatializing of time are well-attested phenomena in world languages. Madan not only projects his ego onto the person whose words he quotes in the narrative, but also imaginatively transports himself spatio-temporally while narrating a story. This way of story-telling is typical of South Asian and Southeast Asian cultures which have, not accidentally, aspect-prominent languages. (Some modern Western novelists such as Virginia Woolf have used this narrative technique. Not unexpectedly, the grammar of the English language often appears odd in her writings.)

As becomes clear from Madan's Cycle 3 data and Modern Times narratives (analyzed in the Project Report on Thematic Structure), when he tells a story, his ego jumps from one significant spatio-temporal point to another, and the movement TO that point is indicated by the Ving form of the verb. At this significant point, usually a new episode in the story starts with the protagonist or some other active and important character in the episode entering the scene. Typically, Madan's own ego is there at the scene in advance to observe the protagonist. When Madan himself is the protagonist, be becomes two persons, one of them observing and the other entering. The narrative from which this extract has been taken is, on the whole, about Madan's, and not his friends' activities. So his friends "come down" to his house. But he himself is "going/coming" to the pub. The self-correction shows that in the middle of the utterance his ego

shifts to the scene of the next episode where he observes the protagonist enter. No other explanation of this self-correction is possible. The protagonist happens to be Madan himself. But it could be Charlie Chaplin or anyone else. The Ving form in Madan's English seems to be, like its counterpart in his mother tongue, an adjectival form highlighting the protagonist and making him the focus of attention. No other explanation of his peculiar-looking use of the English Ving form seems possible. What he seems to be saying in effect is: "Now focus thelights and the camera on the protagonist and view him as entering the (spatio-temporally) new scene". To stretch the analogy a bit further, the location of the camera changes with the change of the scene to be filmed.

Another important aspect of Madan's use of the Ving form is that he never uses the Ving form when an adverbial particle like "down", "up", "on", "in" etc. follows the verb. Such verbs in Madan's usage are +TERMINATIVE and the Ving form of these verbs would be semantically odd. The interaction of Aktionsart and aspect has started manifesting itself in the grammar of Madan's interlanguage.

- D [t: your daughter ... ?does she still wake up lots of times ... in the night?]
  - 16 sometimes too much crying
  - 17 i am very fed up
  - 18 you know my wife my daughter born
  - 19 after my wife come down house
  - 20 two week quiet sleep my daughter
  - 21 after something ... inside
  - 22 too much pain
  - 23 this very crying/see \ <= she \ > very crying
  - 24 sometime i do like that
  - 25 she ... bit quiet
  - 26 yeah just now allright
  - 27 last night too much crying
  - 28 put in my wife go in the hospital ... my wife with my daughter
  - 29 my wife telling doctor
  - 29.1 "doctor too crying"

\ <= "Doctor, she is crying too much." \ >

- 30 she say she ... change milk
- 31 he say
- 31.1 "change the different milk"

#### Analysis and comments

- 16 Vo form "cry" does not occur anywhere in the narrative. But since Madan has now acquired the use of the -ing suffix, he cannot be said to be using "crying" as an unmarked form. He is most probably using "crying" to emphasize the prolongedness of the event and/or to make it vivid because he is "very fed up" with it.
- 18-23 A straightforward series of events. Ven form "born" is used in a stock expression.
  - 26 "Now" is used to conclude the narrative and to start a new one elaborating some aspects of the previous one. Madan, when he wishes, can relate the past happenings to the TU. But he does not do so in the utterances in the main story line. There is no linguistic evidence for this.
  - 28 "Put in" (pronounced rapidly and without stress) does not mean anything in particular here. Madan very often uses "put it" as a gap-filler in discourse connected with the movement of objects. (The final /t/ is assimilated in "put in".) Here, Madan is referring to his wife taking the baby to the hospital. The Vo "go" is used because it is not Mrs Madan but the baby who is the main character in the episode. Moreover, Mrs Madan is having her exit from the scene.
  - 29 The scene shifts to the hospital now, and it is the wife who is the principal character in this episode. Hence the episode starts with the Ving form "telling".

- 30 The use of the indirect speech may be apparent rather than real. Nowhere else does Madan use it. So it may simply be a "slip of the tongue".
  - E 32 my work manager ... he tell me
    - 32.1 "madan work toni/you work every night"
    - 33 i say
    - 33.1 "i am sorry
    - 33.2 i am not work tonight
    - 33.3 you know my wife having baby before
    - 33.4 i work day and night
    - 33.5 this alright
    - 33.6 now my wife too tired night
    - 33.7 ny baby crying
    - 33.8 this very fed up you know
    - 33.9 she dont sleep my wife
    - 33.10 sometimes me pickup \ <= pick up \ > my daughter
    - 33.11 me sleep after
    - 33.12 after crying
    - 33.13 my wife pick up
    - 33.14 afternoon go on to work
    - 33.15 and morning seven o clock on the bed
    - 33.16 everyday me after sleep every night"
    - 34 he say
    - 34.1 "alright"
    - 35 my manager very happy for me
    - 36 he say
    - 36.1 "madan is very good man"
    - 37 its okay now
    - 38 any time manager tell me
    - 38.1 "madan you work
    - 38.2 you carry on up there
    - 38.3 i want job that"
    - 39 i say
    - 39.1 "alright i stop this
    - 39.2 start up there"

#### **Brief Analysis**

- 32 The simple form of the verb is used because although the episode starts here, the protagonist is Madan and not the manager.
- 33 A narrative of iterative events is embedded in the matrix narrative consisting of 32, 33 and 34.
- 34 The matrix narrative ends.
- 35-37 The present state of affairs; indirect comments on the previous narrative.
- 38-39 Another narrative of iterative events.

#### Comments

The extract consists of two narratives - 32-34 and, in a broader sense, 35-39. The connection between the two is thematic, and not logical.

a Narrative I 32 is contextually localized in the past relative to the TU, and then the principle of PNO is used to locate 33 and 34. No linguistic device is used to localize the three events in time. While the point of temporal deictic reference for the matrix narrative is the TU (let us call it NOW1), and NOW (or NOW2) of the embedded narrative is event 33. Like NOW1, NOW2 is used to locate events as both anterior and posterior to it. Madan does not change the space-time-person deixis as he should if he were using indirect speech. For all practical purposes, he shifts his ego spatiotemporally into the past time in his factory.

b Narrative II The minimal narrative, in the narrower sense consists of 38 and 39 only. 34-37 form the "orientation" part of the plot. There is an embedded minimal narrative 39.1-39.2. In addition to the NOW1 of the speech event (time of the interview), there is a NOW2 at 38 and a NOW3 at 39.

The ego-shift narrative technique is so unlike the standard European one (notwithstanding the works of authors like Virginia Woolf and James Joyce) that many Europeans who are still suffering from the illusion that the European modes of thinking, grammatical categories etc. are "universal" find hard to comprehend. Since in Madan's English verbs are not marked for tense, there is no positive evidence that he uses this technique. There cannot be such an evidence. Evidence of any adverbial expression is also missing in his interviews. But, on the other hand, there is no definite counterevidence either. The strong indirect evidence is the use of spatial verbs "come" and "go". Since the three axes of deictic reference – EGO, HERE and NOW – are often inseparable in discourse (cf. Parret quoted above), it is highly unlikely that while Madan's ego is dwelling spatially at a location inside the narrative, it is anchored temporally in the time of utterance. To argue that the point of reference inside the narrative is "secondary" reveals nothing except a Eurocentred bias. If Madan's interlanguage narratives are so similar to the ones in his native language in all other respects (i.e., they are episodic with each episode having its own unity of organization and their spatial deixis is Punjabi-like) we must assume that their temporal reference in the main story line is also Punjabi-like.

We come to the conclusion that the verb (i.e. the nucleus or the hub of the clause) in Madan's English is not marked for tense, (since "was/were" never appeared in his English, "is" and "am" in his usage cannot be said to be in the Present Tense). This morphological fact has a deeper significance. The category marked with the help of a morphological affix on the verb is the most relevant one to the action expressed by the verb (Bybee 1985). So Madan regards a situation's internal temporal constituency to be more important than its deictic localization. This is in perfect harmony with his adoption of a participant's situation-internal perspective rather than an observer's situation-external perspective. (It is not an accident that neither his mother tongue nor his English has indirect speech.)

# 3.2.2.1.2 Indirect means of expressing temporality

As in Cycle 1, Madan makes use of PNO in his narrative and also relies on the shared knowledge and the world-knowledge of the hearer. In extract A, for example, T was aware from the very beginning that Madan was talking of iterative events, and not once-happened ones. In earlier encounters Madan had told T about the conditions at work. T's question "Is that everyday?" was meant to ask if the incidents happened everyday or sometimes. Madan's reliance on PNO has lessened somewhat, as exemplified by 09-12 in extract B above.

# 3.2.2.2 Madan's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.2.2.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression relation(s) expressed

after AFTER
before BEFORE
last night BEFORE
now CONTAINED

just now CONTAINED IN TU tonight BEFORE + ADJACENT

<sup>&</sup>quot;After" and "before" refer to anaphoric relations and the other expressions to deictic relations.

#### 3.2.2.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

The following verbs appear in the Ving form:

going
working
telling
coming
crying
having

The verbs "born" and "done" appear in the Ven form. But these forms are clearly used in formulaic expressions. The forms "am" and "is" of the copula are also used. But since they are not used contrastively with "was/were", they cannot be said to have "Present Tense" as a part of their meaning. Probably, they are used in formulaic expressions, e.g. "i am ready".

We have already discussed in detail the meaning of verb-morphology in Madan's English.

#### 3.2.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### i. Phrasal verbs

As we have noted above, a "verb + adverbial particle" in Madan's English refers to a +TERMINATIVE situation. Madan highlights an action by using a Ving form. But he never used a verb followed by an adverbial particle in a Ving form. At one place he used "pickrupping". (He pronounces "pick up" as "pickrup".) But here he obviously regards "pickrup" as a single lexical item. The notable point is that Aktionsart (the phasal constituency of a situation represented by the verb - Bache's term) and aspect (the speaker's view of the internal temporal constituency of a situation, represented by verbal morphology) have started interacting in Madan's grammar.

#### ii. Self-referential expressions

Durative two week

day and night

Iterative everyday

sometime(s)
any time
every night

Punctual dinner time

any time thursday afternoon morning seven o clock

# 3.2.2.3 Summary of the expression in Cycle II

The Ven form "told" used contrastively with "tell" is not used in Cycle 2. The Ven forms "born" (whose Vo form is very rarely used even in the TL) and "done" are used. But they do not appear to have been acquired for general use (outside stock expressions) by Madan. So Ven cannot be regarded as part of a significant (sub-)system in his English. Ving form, on the other hand, forms a part of a productive and significant system. Madan has also acquired more competence in creating adverbial temporal expressions of his own in addition to having acquired some more single-word temporal adverbs.

# 3.2.3.1 Temporality in texts

#### 3.2.3.1.1 Analysis of texts

# MADAN, Encounter 18, dated 20.02.85 (File: LPEMA 36K) (48 months of stay)

- A 01 twenty seventh junes ... seventy seven ...
  i go to the kabul afghanistan ... from new delhi to kabulstan
  - 02 kabulstan i stay nearly five six month
  - 03 no work there
  - 04 i sitting in the hotel
  - 05 no money in my pocket
  - 06 after i ask my brother
  - 07 my brother stay in india
  - 08 i ask my brother
  - 08.1 "i want money
  - 08.2 i go anywhere"
  - 09 he said
  - 09.1 "?how much you want?"
  - 10 i say <or "said" >
  - 10.1 "seven eight ... thousand ... rupees indian"
  - 11 he give the money by post
  - 12 when i take the money
  - 13 i go to the turkey ... from kabul to turkey
  - 14 kabul i stay i thinks one day one night ... no sorry in turkey
  - 15 after i take/ ... catch the coach from turkey to antakia
  - two day two night service long time by bus by road [t: ?was it summer or winter?]
  - 17 no not too ... summer <= hot> ... middle
  - 18 when i go to antakia
  - 19 i stop there two days ... i think yeah two day
  - 20 after i catch a car ... to syria ... from antakia to syria
    [t: ?the car with other people?]
  - 21 arabi people you know
  - 22 next day i coming to syria
  - 23 syria i stay fifteen day
    [t: ?which town?]
  - 24 ah i cant remember ... abdul ... basti something
  - 25 after i go to the lebanon ... from syria to lebanon
  - 26 i stay lebanon four five hours
  - 27 come back again syria
    [t: ?why did you stay so short?]
  - 28 too much fighting there
  - 29 somebody told me
  - 29.1 "you go from there"
  - 30 i come back to syria
  - 31 i think ten eleven day sitting ... i stay there

- 32 after come/ coming the jordan ... from the syria ... to jordan
- 33 nearly two year i working there
- amman abduli mahatta salat four five towns i work there [t: ?what did you do?]
- 35 i work in <or "working"> the house you know
- 36 labour ... yeah builders
  [t: ?how did you manage with the language?]
- 37 arabi ... i speak some bit
  [t: ?were there any indians there to help you?]
- 38 not too much people any jordan ... no any indian
- 39 two three arabi man ... he speak hindi something
- 40 he stay before in india

#### **Analysis and Comments**

The story of the Cycle 1 narrative is retold after 28 months.

- 01 Madan temporally locates the starting point of a series of events with an exact calendaric expression. After that, he uses conjunctions for conjunctive adverbials and PNO technique to present the chronology of events.
- 02-04 Madan does not use the Ving form of "stay" here. Usually, Madan starts an episode with the protagonist engaged in an activity represented by the Ving form. It could be the case that the lexical aspectual meaning (or Aktionsart) of the verb "stay" in his lexicon prevents the use of the form "staying". The following utterances make it very clear that he is imaginatively still in Kabul. The adverbial "nearly five six month" emphasizes the duration of his stay. The termination of the state, though implied by the mention of the duration, does not seem to be there in his mind. In 04, he uses the Ving form "sitting" to highlight duration (and the associated boredom). It is highly improbable that he never came across the frequently used TL form "staying". Moreover - and this is significant - he has now acquired the use of the -ing suffix independently of the input factors. While narrating the story of the film Modern Times in Cycle 3, he uses the forms "accidenting" and "pickrupping" (he pronounces "pick up" as "pickrup"). It could be argued that what he is "really" saying in 02 is "I stayed..." and that the "real" or the "deep" or the "underlying" form of 04 is "I kept sitting...". But this interpretation does not accord with his overall use of the verb "stay". He uses both "sit" and "sitting", but he does not use "staying" even for highlighting the situation. He uses "stay" even in those instances where a TL speaker would use "staying". The overall picture that emerges is that Madan does not simply imitate the TL speakers in the utterances he produces (which are different from the formulaic expressions or reproduced utterances). According to his light and to the best of his ability, he tries to develop a grammar of the English he speaks.
  - 06-08 A TL speaker would say "was staying" here because the state of affairs depicted in 07 is -BOUNDED. The +BOUNDED state in 02 would be expressed as "stayed" by him. But Madan uses "stay" for both, although he is grammatically competent to use "staying". Either he does not have the boundedness of 02 in mind or the distinction is inapplicable to "stay" in his lexicon. Either way, he has acquired the TL word but not the complete TL semantics of the word. "Stay", for Madan, is a stative verb like "know" and "believe". Such a verb cannot occur in the Ving form to express PROGRESSIVE aspect. "i go anywhere" refers to the then future event.
  - 09-10 "Say" and "said" in Madan's usage seem to be interchangeable. Probably he always uses "say" and sometimes his "say" sounds like "said". His pronunciation is often ambiguous. Often he uses the glottal stop after the vowel and pronounces [se?]. In the Midlands dialect of English, the suffix /t/ or /d/ often becomes [?], but in Punjabi the glottal stop serves as a hiatus between two similar vowels to mark a word-boundary or to stop the speech for the purpose of selfcorrection. As Madan speaks English with a predominantly Punjabi "accent", it is impossible to determine the function of the glottal stop in Madan's [se?]. In short, we are not sure whether he has acquired the form "said".
  - 12-13 Madan has acquired the use of the temporal subordinate clause to mark the order of events and to establish greater cohesion between the events than chaining of utterances would allow. It is important to

note the words "go from kabul to turkey". The deictic point of spatial reference continues to be Kabul until he reaches 22. If his ego is spatially dwelling in Kabul, it is unreasonable to assume that temporally he is anchored in the time of the interview. There is no linguistic evidence that Madan is using the speech event as the primary point of temporal reference and the time of his stay in Kabul as a secondary point. This feature is typical of the grammar of the European languages. There is no evidence that it is a part of the grammar of Madan's English.

- 14 Again, he uses "stay". But this time the boundedness of the state is there in his mind. He uses the adverbial "one day one night". We have said above that "boundedness" concept in Madan's lexicon seems to be inapplicable to the verb "stay". He seems to feel that the adverbial showing duration, though it logically implies the termination and hence boundedness of the state, is not somehow enough if it is placed within the clause whose nuclear element is the verb "stay". So the clause indicating the next state or event must start with "after". 06, 15, 20, 25, 32 are good examples. The only exception in the extract is the use of "stay" in 26. But the stay here is so short ("four five hours") that compared with the duration of the stay at other places, this stay is practically a punctual event.
- 18 Note the use of "go" without "ing".
- 20 "From Antakia to Syria". His ego has not arrived in Syria yet. He has to watch the curtain fall on the first act. It does with his going.
- 22 "coming to Syria". Madan becomes two persons, one of whom is already stationed in Syria in advance to observe the other's arrival at that particular spatio-temporal point. Very often Madan signals the start of a new episode by raising pitch and amplitude of his voice and by highlighting the first action of the protagonist with the use of the -ing form.
- 23-31 The narrative is punctuated with non-narrative clauses elicited by T but the episode as a unit is there in Madan's mind and the non-narrative clauses do not break its unity. The use of "back" in 27 and of "to" and "from" in 25 also indicates that he is now spatio-temporally anchored in Syria. Again, in 31, the -ing form "sitting" contrasts with the simple form of "stay".
  - 32 The self-correction "come/coming" is significant. A new episode starts here.
  - 40 A TL speaker would say "had stayed". In Madan's usage, "before in india" indicates a time that is past in relation to time of his stay in Jordan.

The only apparent counter-example to our theory that Madan is using an ego-shift narrative technique is the use of "there" in 03 and 28. But it is important to remember that this technique applies to the main story line only. Backgrounded comments can be made from the point of view of the speech event. And both 03 and 28 are backgrounded utterances. At the most, this use of "there" indicates that Madan is either shifting perspective or there is some inconsistency in his interlanguage system (something usual and not unexpected). The evidence of the contrastive use of "come" and "go" and of "to" and "from" and the associated change of location in the story is too overwhelming to allow us to comfortably assume that he has learnt to adopt a single spatio-temporal deictic perspective (in a typical European fashion) from which he organizes the plot of the story. The plot itself is so loose and episodic that every episode seems to be individually organized from a point lying spatio-temporally within the story.

- B [t: ?why did you go to kabul in the first place?]
  - 41 my agent said
    - 41.1 "you go to the kabul"
    - 42 i go to \ <= was going to go to \ > the iran first
    - 43 you know my agent ... he say
    - 43.1 "madan go/you go to the kabul
    - 43.2 i coming after two weeks"
    - 44 he waiting for me in the ka/ i waiting for him for five six month
    - 45 he not coming
      - [t: ?and what about iran?]
    - 46 i not go to iran
      - [t: you didnt go to iran]

- 47 i dont go
  [t: you "wanted to go to iran]
- 48 yeah i want before go on
- 49 when we go  $\setminus$  <= were about to go  $\setminus$  > ... stop the visa
- 50 no entry to iran
- 51 i change the mind \ <interrupted \ >
- 52 i dont go there
- 53 change my mind

#### Analysis and comments

This short narrative is interesting in the sense that it deals with "future in the past" and non-events.

- 42 "I go to" is meant to refer either to Madan's plan or desire or to the possibility of his going to Iran. But in the absence of any clue, the utterance results in misunderstanding cf. 46, 48. In Madan's grammar, the main contrast seems to lie between the morphologically and semantically unmarked simple form and the Ving form marked in both respects. He seems to use the Ving form to highlight the prolongedness, on-goingness, vividness, immediacy, etc. of an event.
- 43 Madan's agent was Punjabi and must have used their common language. Madan is trying to translate his words. He may be somewhat inaccurately using a form that TL speaker says to refer to "immediate future".
- 44 Prolongedness of Madan's waiting is indicated by the use of the Ving form.
- 45 "Coming" is used again where a TL speaker would use the simple form. The Ving form is used here either to negate the action denoted by the one used in 43 or the event which he was expecting to take place and which would have been indicated by a Ving form if it had occurred.
- 49 An "about to happen" event is indicated by the use of the simple form. Misunderstanding is averted here because of what Madan has already said in 47.

The use of the simple form by Madan in this extract shows that this form is not only morphologically but also semantically unmarked in his inter-language. Often, he is fairly successful in his communication by using just two forms of the verb, the simple form and the Ving form. But he cannot always avert misunderstanding when he has to refer to future plans or to counterfactuals. The status of "told" and "gone" in his inter-language is marginal. It is clear that they are semantically closer to the Past Participle forms than to the Past Tense forms of the TL. "Said" is phonologically ambiguous and Madan may actually be using two phonetic variants of the simple form. Since "told" is used to signal quoted speech, it may be related to the status of the speaker (as we have already seen). "Gone" is used by Madan to mark the end of an episode, rather than to indicate the completion of an action. Except "go", "tell" and (possibly) "say", no other verb in Madan's speech has more than two forms. We can, therefore, say that as far as "reference to time" is concerned he uses only two forms of the English verb. But this won't do if he is to integrate fully with the host community and speak about all sorts of matters.

- C [t: how you found the job for the first time]
  - 54 when we come/ when we coming in here ... to england
  - 55 i ask my friend somebody
  - 55.1 "i want job anywhere"
  - 56 my friend work ... coventry shoes factory
  - 57 that indian factory you know
  - 58 my friend tell me
  - 58.1 "if you want job ... coventry shoes factory you start in"
  - 59 i said
  - 59.1 "alright i work there"
  - 60 i work ... coventry four five six month
    [t: ?were you a press operator?]
  - 61 yeah a press operator
  - 62 not too big press ... small [t: ?was it easy work?]

- 63 not easy ... too dangerous
  - [t: ?why?]
- 64 you know shoes his back side fitting this side ... the fix
- 65 any time crossing the cutting the finger
- 66 very look after ... the press

#### Comments

We have already said a lot about "reference to time" – both situation-internal (aspect/actionsart) and situation-external (localization in time) in Madan's English. The only interesting utterances in this extract are 63-66 in which he does not give a simple "yes" or "no" answer to T's question but relives the past because the work he did was dangerous. There was no danger to life, but there certainly was a great danger to limb. Madan is describing a situation that he faced repeatedly. But he makes his description vivid by placing himself imaginatively in the middle of the situation and using the Ving form. The Ving forms used here are most probably not gerunds. It needs no pointing out here that these Ving forms do not relate situations anaphorically or deictically to any outside point in time, simultaneous, or past or present.

#### 3.2.3.1.2 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Madan still relies (more than a speaker of a fully-fledged language does) on PNO for relating situations anaphorically. But as he gains competence in the use of conjunctions like "before" (also the adverb "before"), "after" and the subordinator "when", this reliance shows signs of lessening. But it is extremely rarely that the narrative order is the opposite of the chronological order of situations. (40) is an example.

A significant feature of Madan's use of PNO comes to light in Cycle III. He makes use of this device only when the previous situation is viewed as having a right boundary and the following situation as having a left boundary. If this is not the case, he uses some conjunction like "after", as we have noted above. The use of PNO is "unmarked" in the sense that it represents pure chronological succession and nothing more. But in addition to being chronologically related, situations and events in the plot of a narrative may be logically related as well. This logical relation is also indicated by Madan (e.g. his use of the subordinator "when" in 12 and 49). "After" serves another function too. It indicates the beginning of a new episode or an important event leading to a new episode. So simple PNO won't do. It should be complemented or supplemented by the conjunction "after". It is difficult to say what the meaning (i.e. function) of "after" is in Madan's English. It appears to have some closely related uses.

Madan's reliance on context to localize situations in time does not always pay. The verb forms in his English are tense-neutral. Usually, the context makes it clear whether they refer to the BEFORE TU, i.e. past situations or to the situations partly or fully contained in the present time. But when Madan has to refer to an AFTER, a future, situation (relative to TU or to some other point in time) his strategy does not always work and misunderstanding can sometimes take place. We have discussed this while commenting on the extracts.

#### 3.2.3.2 Madan's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.2.3.2.1 External temporal relations

Throughout the period of observation, verb forms in Madan's English never referred to external temporal relations, deictic or anaphoric. It is only conjunctions and adverbial expressions which do so. Since the narrative is laid in the past and Madan does not relate it to TU at any point, expressions relating situations deictically are missing. The following conjunctions are used by Madan to relate events anaphorically:

Expression Relation expressed

before BEFORE after AFTER

when BEFORE + ADJACENT

next day AFTER

Madan uses the calendaric expression "twenty seventh junes seventy seven" to refer to a point in time which, within the particular context, happens to lie in the past (BEFORE TU). But the expression by itself is self-referential in our sense. That the referent happens to be unique makes no difference. The fact that it is related to Christ's birth is as relevant in Madan's system as is the fact that Madan's name comes from that of the Hindu god of love!

#### 3.2.3.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

Madan uses the following verbs in the Ving form:

sitting working waiting fitting crossing cutting coming

In 32 and 54, there is self-correction from "come" to "coming" (as in Cycle 2). It is not the case that the event under reference is in any way +ONGOING (relative to a point of reference). The reason is that Madan wants to make the event vivid. He uses the Vo form to refer to the particular event in the narrative (as he does in the case of other events) but then remembers that the event needs highlighting. So he uses the Ving form.

The Ven form "told" is used with a third-person actor in a context in which he is not presented as speaking to a first- or second-person actor. As we have pointed out above, Madan's pronunciation of "say/said" is ambiguous.

We have already discussed why, in our opinion, the verb "stay" does not occur in the Ving form in the extracts, even if the situation it refers to is a prolonged one and may also need highlighting.

## 3.2.3.2.3 Inherent temporal features

We have already discussed how the verb "stay" in Madan's usage refers (in a non-TL-like way) to some inherent features of situation, as symbolised by him. He also uses the following self-referential adverbial expressions:

Punctual twenty seventh junes seventy seven

Iterative any time again

Durative five six month
one day one night
fifteen day
four five hours
ten eleven day
nearly two year
for five six month

#### 3.2.3.3 Summary of the expression of temporality in Cycle III

As far as external temporal relations are concerned, Madan's repertoire does not show any notable

development except that he can, on a few occasions, use subordination (with the subordinator "when") for this purpose. He still relies on PNO, conjunctions like "before" and "after" and on the context.

He does not use the Ven form of any verb except "tell" (and possibly "say"). We can safely assume that Vo-Ven system in his English is practically a static (and possibly a closed) one. But he can use the -ing suffix productively.

It is in constructing the self-referential adverbial expressions that Madan has mainly gained competence during Cycle III. Among such expressions, it is the *durative* ones that he uses most frequently.

# 3.2.4 Developmental trends in Madan

We have decided to use the term temporality to refer not only to localization of events in time (whether relative to the time of the speech event or to each other) but also to embedding in time and to the internal temporal constituency of situations. The first two are often expressed by verbal morphology. But, of course, all types of temporality can be expressed by using adverbials, prepositions and conjunctions. The Principle of Natural Order (PNO) can also be employed, i.e., the order of events in discourse may be made to reflect their real life chronology. We start with the hypothesis that a second language acquirer is in some (but only some, not all) respects like a first language acquirer. The way he temporalizes situations is constrained by his repertoire of linguistic elements. But as he acquires more resources he gains confidence and starts experimenting with or metaphorically and metonymically extending the use of his developing resources. More importantly, he does not simply imitate the native speakers (other than in a few stock expressions or formulaic expressions). He tries to develop a grammar of his language and then generate (both in the abstract and the concrete sense of "produce") sentences and utterances. The prototypical or basic meaning of the major verb forms in his native language exerts tremendous influence on his grammar. Typically, an adult second language acquirer looks in the target language for a system similar to the one in his native language. If he does not find one, he tries to construct it. But his grammar is influenced by the resources and grammatical structure of the TL as well. Moreover, his grammar develops and undergoes evolution. While analyzing individual extracts we have commented in detail upon the evolutionary trends we observed there. Here we only summarize our findings.

Cycle I

Madan uses only a few verbs in the Vo form. They convey their lexical meaning only (which, of course, does refer to internal temporal constituency of situations, as in the case of verbs like "stay", "want", "like" etc.). But since "meaning implies choice" and Madan does not seem to use verb lexemes contrastively to express distinctions of Aktionsart, we do not comment upon the Aktionsart referred to by the verbs he uses. Only two conjunctions – "before" and "after" are used to relate situations anaphorically. The PNO technique is much more made use of. Other devices used are duration adverbials like "six month" and the calendaric expression "seventy five". The role of the interviewer in explicity and linguistically locating events in time (from the inferences drawn from Madan's utterances) is prominent.

Cycle II

Narratives become more complex in the sense that events are not always strung together to reflect their chronology. Comments and background information is interspersed. There is also embedding of one narrative (in the form of direct speech) within another. It appears that Madan has started employing the narrative technique of his native culture – imaginatively transporting his ego spatio-temporally and projecting it onto other persons. More verbs are acquired and Ving forms "going", "telling", "working", "coming", "crying", and "having" appear. Ven forms "done" and "born" also appear in what are clearly stock expressions. The use of Vo form to refer to future actions (albeit future in the past) has begun. There is no addition to the stock of temporal conjunctions. Only their use has become more frequent. New temporal adverbs have been acquired, and, more significantly, Madan shows signs of being able to construct adverbial expressions to temporalize states of affairs.

Cycle III

Complexity of the narrative increases. It is not the case that Madan has gained narrative competence as such. As a mature user of his SL he already possessed such competence. What he has gained over time since

the first interview with him was recorded is to construct a more complex narrative in his second language. We have already commented in detail on this ability of Madan's. As far as localization of events in time is concerned, Madan's gains are not very noteworthy. He still uses the PNO technique, conjunctive adverbs like "before" and "after" and adjectives like "next". He has also started using subordinate adverbial clauses starting with "when". We have seen that "after" does more than locate two events relative to each other. Its role is aspectual as well – marking the termination of a state denoted by the verb "stay". There is no evidence that he uses the point of the speech event as the primary point of deictic temporal reference for all the clauses that constitute the narrative proper. Tense as a formal category is obligatory in a finite clause in English because a speaker of English must always indicate whether or not the state of affairs under reference is temporally (or, by implicature, logically or psychologically) REMOTE from the NOW or the time of the speech event. There is no evidence that this is the case with Madan's narrative. Rather, there is ample evidence that as the narrative progresses Madan's ego shifts to various spatio-temporal locations in the narrative. This shift is explicitly marked for spatiality. There is no reason, therefore, to assume that there is no ego-shift temporally.

The most interesting thing noticeable about Madan's reference to time is his depiction of situation-internal time or aspect. In this respect, he has constructed a grammar of his own which shares some features both with the SL and the TL grammars, but is identical to neither and has an independent character of its own. He has acquired, on the whole, only two forms of the English verb - Vo and Ving. Ven forms like "done" and "born" are clearly used in formulaic expressions. It is doubtful whether he uses "said". "Told" appears to express modality or status. "Gone", used only in the narration of the Charlie Chaplin story (not analyzed here). Both "told" and "gone" appear to have an extremely marginal status in (if they do not lie outside) Madan's system of the grammar of aspect. The marked Ving form seems to have semantic features like +VIVID, +ONGOING, +UNCOMPLETED etc., and the Vo form is both morphologically and semantically unmarked. Morphology of a verb, as we have seen in the case of "stay", seems to be influenced by its inherent lexical aspectual meaning (Aktionsart) too.

# 3.2.5 Reference to future time by Madan

Narrative discourse, on which we have concentrated, is not a good type of discourse for studying the informant's reference to the future time, though actions and activities planned in the past lie in the "future in the past" time. Largely because of biographical reasons (secure employment, living in a joint family headed by an elder brother responsible for doing all the planning, working like a machine and having no plans for any holidays), Madan rarely talks about the future time. We should not be surprised that his interlanguage lexicon and grammar are ill-equipped for referring to the future. This, however, has nothing to do with his native culture and language. We saw in our analysis of Cycle 3 data that his linguistic means for referring to the future time are the same as are for referring to the past or the present time and that he has to depend upon the temporal frame set up contextually for the discourse. When there is a shift of the frame, Madan does not (or perhaps cannot) give any explicit indication and is likely to be misunderstood. Another example from the final interview of Cycle III is given below. The researchers, who were determined to elicit from him some explicit linguistic reference to the future time, asked him what his plans were when he came to England and what changes, if any, had taken place in those plans. The question was explained in Punjabi. His first reaction was philosophical. "Who can say what's going to happen in future?" he asked in Punjabi. An extract from his English conversation with the target language researcher T, is given below:

# MADAN, Encounter 18, dated 20.02.85 (File; LPEMA 36)

[t: ?so you understand the question now?]

- 01 yeah he < = SL researcher > tell me
- 02 when we coming here
- 03 i thinking
- 03.1 "i want"

+++ you know

< In 04, 05, 06 and 07 below, Madan is talking not about what he wanted but what actually happened.

He, however, gives no indication of the change of the temporal frame. There is misunderstanding because of this, which comes to surface only towards the end. >

- 04 you know i married before < = first of all>
- 05 after i stay separate ... me and my wife
- 06 and baby
- 07 and i buy new house [t: this in india]
- 08 no here
- 10 i working very hard
- 11 pick up < = earn > money too much
- 12 i give you < = give > the money my parents
- 13 in india my father ... my brother
- 14 i give the money my dad
- 15 like this you know
- 16 i thinking before
- 17 the same thinking now

[t: you and your wife i mean you wanted to buy a new house for you and your wife]

T has clearly misunderstood 07 as part of Madan's plan. But 04, 05, 06 and 07 refer to actual events. Madan's wife wanted to buy a new house and to live separately from her sister, who is Madan's elder brother's wife. They bought a house but lived there for a few months only. Later, Madan's and his brother's family bought a bigger house and started living as a joint family again. >

- 18 no year before i/not me/my "wife thinking"
- 19 stay separate not my thinking my "wife thinking
- 20 i thinking ... i say sitting/live with my brother [t: you like to live with your brother]
- 21 i like it my brother/ with my brother

#### Comments

We see that apart from relying on context and discoursal manipulation, Madan uses no other means to localize actions in future. The semantics of the verb forms he uses is tense-neutral. But this should prove no hindrance. He could always use adverbials and modal expressions. The really interesting thing is that he does not use any such linguistic means.

# 3.3 Reference to time by another Punjabi-speaking learner, RAVINDER

Limitations of space do not allow us to present a detailed analysis of data from Ravinder. So in this section we present only the results of a longitudinal study of the Ravinder data.

# 3.3.0 Background information on the informant

RAVINDER (Punjabi Longitudinal)

Sex: Male Date of birth: 1962

Arrival in Britain: October 1981

Date of first encounter: 19 November 1982

Ravinder's native village is about thirty miles from Madan's. Although Madan is said to speak the

Malwai and Ravinder the Doabi of the geographical dialects of Punjabi, the varieties of Punjabi they speak are indistinguishable.

Like Madan, Ravinder received formal schooling in his native village for seven years and was taught a little English at the high school for two years. But it was nothing more than rote learning, and he forgot it within a few months after leaving the school, which he did because, like Madan, he was not interested in studies. Again, like Madan, he worked on the family farm for some years, came to England for an arranged marriage and got married to a bilingual speaker of English and Punjabi born and brought up in England. However, Ravinder's employment has been of a different type. He has been working at his sister's fish and chips shop and later on at her builder merchant's shop as well. He attended a part-time ESL course sporadically for two months. But he says that the effect of this course on his English has been negligible. He still cannot even read the names of roads and cannot use a map. During the first four or five encounters, he appeared extremely shy and had to be encouraged and prompted to speak English. But after he started working at the builder merchant's shop, got a driving licence and came in greater contact with the native speakers – while making purchases at superstores and making deliveries – his pace of second language acquisition quickened. His accent of English is closer than Madan's to the local variety and he tries to copy the dialectal peculiarities of the speech of the people he comes in contact with. But he is less imaginative (or perhaps more reserved) than Madan and it has proved difficult to elicit personal narratives from him.

# 3.3.1 Cycle I

#### 3.3.1.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Ravinder's use of the indirect (pragmatic and discursive) means for expressing temporality is very similar to Madan's in the sense that:

- i. The complete narrative is located in the past time by the interviewer, who also tells him what events to focus on. Ravinder simply uses her questions for temporal scaffolding.
- ii. The Principle of Natural Order (PNO) technique of narrative is used to localize situations relative to one another. This technique is supplemented by the use of the conjunction "and".

It is important to remember that Ravinder had been in England for only 12 months when the first interview with him was recorded. In the case of Madan, it had been 20 months. Naturally, Ravinder's dependence on the use of the indirect means during Cycle I is greater than Madan's.

#### 3.3.1.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.3.1.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression Relation(s) expressed and AFTER

#### 3.3.1.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

Ravinder uses the following verbs in the non-stem form

Ving Ven (?) helping got working

We tentatively regard "got" as the Past Participle form, and not the Past Tense form. This form occurs in a re-telling of the story of a film. In this narrative, Ravinder uses the Ving forms also to refer to some events viewed as +ONGOING. The Vo forms, by contrast, refer to the events viewed as -ONGOING (or +COMPLETED). Since "got" does not contrast with "get", Ravinder probably regards "got" as the unmarked Vo form. He also uses "is" (more often in the contracted form in "he's"). But since "is" does not contrast with "was/were", we cannot say that "is" refers to the present time in his English.

Ravinder's narrative style is so similar to Madan's (in the use of the ego-shift technique, loosely constructed episodic plot, use of "coming", "going", "to" and "from", etc.) that a Ravinder narrative could easily be mistaken for Madan's. But since Madan and Ravinder do not know each other, the similarity can be attributed to the influence of the Source Language/Culture only.

# 3.3.1.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### Self-referential expressions

Notion Expressions
Iterative again

Durative eleven month one year

Punctual "o clock" expressions

# 3.3.2 Cycle II

# 3.3.2.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Reliance on shared knowledge and context (i.e., the temporal frame set up by the interviewer's questions and the nature of the task) to localize situations in time relative to TU continue to be there. As far as localizations of situations relative to one another is concerned, the PNO technique is still used. But Ravinder has also started using "and", "then" and "after" to complement or supplement PNO. Ravinder's use of these conjunctions is very similar to Madan's. "And" indicates a sort of cause-and-effect relation between two events. "Then" indicates immediate succession. "After" indicates a new episode in the narrative. The event with which the episode starts is referred to by using the Ving form too. But not every utterance that has Ving form starts with "after". It appears that "after" in Ravinder's narratives is primarily a marker of a new episode. So Ravinder's use of "after", though very similar to Madan's is more straightforward and does not seem to be linked with whether or not the previous situation is viewed as having a right boundary.

# 3.3.2.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.3.2.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression Relation(s) expressed after AFTER (anaphoric)

and AFTER then AFTER

#### 3.3.2.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

Ving Ven
arresting ('s) gone
(is) coming said (?)
(is) jogging
looking
pinching
thinking

Ravinder's pronunciation of "said" (with a glottal stop at the end) is very often ambiguous, like Madan's, between "say" and "said". Even if he has acquired "said", there is no justification for calling it a Past Tense form. On the other hand, its having the semantics of a Past Participle form (as in the case of "gone") is much more probable. Ravinder has correctly perceived that the Ving form is often accompanied by "is" (either the full form or the contracted form /s/). It is only on one occasion that he says "he's gone". But he is not sure whether he has used the right expression. After a second's pause, he says "hes go" too. As far as the use of the auxiliary "is" is concerned, he is still experimenting with it and his usage is inconsistent. Since he does not use "was/were" we cannot say that "is" refers to the present time in his English.

#### 3.3.2.2.3 Inherent temporal features

Notion Expression

Durative within five minutes or ten minutes

Here, we take into account what appears to be new developments in Ravinder's English, i.e., acquisition of means to refer to new notions or to construct more complicated expressions. Of course, he expresses punctual and iterative notions too during Cycle 2. But no new developments take place.

#### 3.3.3 Cycle III

#### 3.3.3.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

No notable new developments take place.

#### 3.3.3.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.3.3.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression Relation(s) expressed after AFTER (anaphoric)

when BEFORE + ADJACENT (anaphoric)

#### 3.3.3.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

Ving Ven
(is) calling ('ve) got
(is) coming said (?)
(is) pinching
drinking
eating
going
jogging
looking

We see that while Ravinder can use the -ing suffix meaningfully (i.e. constrastively and by choice), his use of the Ven forms seems restricted and in what appear to be formulaic expressions. While the Vo-Ving contrast does form a significant system in his grammar, this cannot be said about the Vo-Ven contrast.

#### 3.3.3.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### Self-referential expressions

Ravinder's English shows no notable development here, except that he uses the calendaric expression "thirteen december" which, in the particular context, happens to refer to a day in the future time. But as we argued earlier, we regard the expression as a self-referential one.

# 3.3.4 Developmental trends in Ravinder

The family resemblances between Madan's and Ravinder's English are so strong that the differences are minor and negligible. The typical features of the variety of English spoken by the majority of the Punjabi immigrants – the excessive and non-TL-like use of the Ving forms and complete absence of tense-marking verbal morphology – characterize the English acquired by all the Punjabi informants. This variety of English, which is sometimes jokingly referred to as "Singh's English", has caught the attention of even some English comedians, who caricature it by exaggeration.

The developmental trends we noted in Madan's English can be seen in Ravinder's English too. The only difference is that they appear slightly later in Ravinder's case than in Madan's. The reason is obvious: at the start of the period of observation, Madan had been living in England for twenty months and Ravinder for twelve months. The only notable differences in their English is Ravinder's use of auxiliary verbs and his more successful reference to the future time. Sometimes (but not always) Ravinder uses "am" or "is" before a Ving form. But the use of the auxiliary "am/is" does not contrast with "was/were" or with its own absence. So Ravinder does not seem to be using it meaningfully.

# 3.3.5 Reference to future time by Ravinder

Ravinder refers to the future time in Cycle 3 only. To do this, he relies mainly on the context, as Madan does. But he also uses the following *linguistic* means in TL-like ways:

#### Verb forms

Vo Ving go coming walk

Modal + Vo

'll go 'll try

Complex modal expressions

if i may going

Adverbials and other expressions

next month its long time

His reference to the future time is more successful because no misunderstanding takes place. However, auxiliaries and modal expressions appear in his English towards the end of the period of observation. Their role in his English is not very prominent and is extremely marginal.

# 3.4 Summary of trends for Punjabi-speaking informants

We have said above that the developmental trends in Madan and Ravinder are so similar that they can be regarded as identical. Both of them are acquiring "Singh's English". Madan's variety, however, is slightly "purer" than Ravinder's, though the differences in their English are minor, so that an extract from one could easily be mistaken for one from the other.

At the beginning of the period of observation, Madan had been living in England for 20 months and Ravinder for about 12 months. Moreover, the latter's contact with the TL speakers had been very limited. So we can assume that Madan's English must have passed through the stage where Ravinder's was at the beginning of the period of observation. The following summary of the developmental trends is based on a detailed study of the data from both these informants. Observation of the data from the other Punjabispeaking informants supports these findings.

1 Initial stage

Verbs are used in the Vo or stem forms. They convey their lexical meaning only. Often, they are used awkwardly. The Aktionsart or the phasal constituency of the situation expressed by the verb sometimes does not match that of the situation under reference. "Go", for example, refers to a +EXTENDED, +RIGHT BOUNDARY matter, but both Madan and Ravinder sometimes use it in the sense of "start", which is -EXTENDED. Some other verbs are also used awkwardly in this way. Informants rely mainly upon the context and the interviewer's questions for localizing situations deictically (relative to TU) and on PNO for locating them anaphorically (relative to one another). But some adverbials like "last Sunday" or calendaric expressions are also used.

#### 2 Later developments

a Deictic localization

Dependence upon the context and the interviewer's questions continues till the very end. Past Tense verb forms never appear, and very few adverbials are used for this purpose. The ones that are used are set phrases or formulaic expressions and not complex expressions generated according to the rules of grammar.

b Anaphoric localization

Reliance on PNO lessens as conjunctions "before", "after", "then" and "and" are acquired. But these conjunctions are used to supplement the use of PNO. Informants tend to use these conjunctions to (i) indicate a new episode in the narrative, (ii) (in Madan's case) when the previous situation was thought to lack a left boundary and/or the following situation was thought to lack a left boundary. With the coming of these conjunctions, the PNO started indicating simple and

"unmarked" chronological successions and the conjunctions were used to "mark" the chronological succession in some way. "Before" was often used in the sense of "first of all".

c Aspectual notions

The most notable development is the emergence of verbal morphology. The Ving forms of a number of verbs and the Ven forms of only three or four *irregular* verbs (e.g. "gone", "done", "born") were acquired at about the same time. But it is only the -ing suffix that was acquired as a productive device. The Ven forms were used either in formulaic expressions or hesitantly and with self-correction to Vo form. No sooner did the informants acquire the use of the -ing suffix, than they started using the Ving forms in non-TL-like ways (but perfectly in accordance with the grammatical rules of "Singh's English") to mark the situations as +VIVID, +PROLONGED, +ONGOING, etc. Ven form "told" was used by Madan to mark his quoted speech as +DEFINITE.

d Self-referential adverbials

Informants acquired ability to generate adverbial expressions to mark situations as durative (+EX-TENDED) and iterative and to refer to points in time which the situation happened or was ongoing.

e Reference to future time
Informants relied mainly on the context and the interviewer's questions. Only Ravinder used, in
Cycle 3, a few adverbial expressions, modal expressions and Vo, Ving in TL-like way. His use of
such means was, however, very limited.

# 3.5 Longitudinal study of Italian-speaking learner, Andrea

# 3.5.0 Background information on the informant

ANDREA (Italian Longitudinal)

Sex: Male
Date of birth: 1946
Arrival in Britain: 1982

Date of first encounter: 13 December 1982

In Italy, Andrea received general education up to the secondary level in a scuola media. The foreign language he learnt at school for two years was basic French. After leaving school, he studied electronics for three years in a technical college and qualified as an electrician.

He worked for several years in Italy as an electrician and radio mechanic. In 1982 he came to Britain to "change lifestyle". His employment in the target country has been irregular and mostly at workplaces where practically no English was spoken. He sporadically attended ESL classes from October to December 1982, and also got lessons at a private school in early 1983. He reads some electronics journals in English. His contact with the TL speakers has, on the whole, been low and mainly social. He has lived in rented flats. Though his son (who arrived in June 1984) goes to school in London, the language used in the family is Italian.

True narratives of any sustained length are missing from the Andrea data. References to time, however, lie scattered throughout the "free conversation" passages. Below we analyze some representative extracts.

Extract Months of stay

Cycle 1 A, B, C 11 D 15

Cycle 2 A 22 B 23

#### 3.5.1 CYCLE 1

# 3.5.1.1 Temporality in texts

#### 3.5.1.1.1 Analysis of texts

ANDREA, Encounter 1, dated 13.12.82 (File: LIEAN 11) (11 months of stay)

A

- 01 in italy ... my work ... my job is repair this ... and this and this [m: ?and you can get this job in england?]
- 02 i prove ... two time
- 03 ... but ... no speaking
- 04 no speak english no
- 05 no good for that
  [m: ?and did you qualify for doing this work
  ... at school or training college (in italy)?]
- 06 in school
- 07 after ... professional
  [m: ?was that for two years or three?]
- 08 three years with ... radio technical ... only radio technical
- 09 after two years for ... electrical ... in industrial electronic
- 10 is good ... is alright for me
  [m: ?what did you learn in scuola media?]
- 11 french
- 12 before last year in london ... i remember french
- 13 now nothing
- 14 after london i go ... to paris
- 15 now london
- 16 i return in italy

#### **Analysis and Comments**

As in the case of the Madan narratives, this narrative is developed with the cooperation of the interviewer, whose questions not only elicit the narrative but also help to anchor it in time relative to the TU. But unlike Madan, who appears to be imaginatively drifting along the flow of the narrative, Andrea is very conscious of the TU, or the time of the speech event to which he relates the narrative.

- O1 Spatial adverb "in italy" is used to locate the situation temporally in the past.
- 02-05 "Speak" contrasts with "speaking". One of them denotes Andrea's general (in)competence to speak English and the other his performance on two occasions. But it is difficult to say which denotes which. The conjunction "but" in 03 and the fact that 04 is followed by 05 show that Vo form "speak" probably refers to his general (lack of) competence.
- 06-10 Uses no verb, but temporal adverbials showing duration are used. The copula "is" probably corresponds to the TL "was", as in 01.
- "before last year in london" is a complex spatio- temporal expression. "in london" is at a time later than that of "in italy" of 01. "before last year", Andrea was in London and he remembered French.
- "Now" clearly relates the past state (remembering French) to the present state of having forgotten

- it. And the time of the present state includes NOW or the time of the speech event.
- In the light of 15 and 16, which follow 14, the temporal location of 14 becomes ambiguous. Andrea could be referring to his future plans or to a visit of his to Paris in the past. Or it could be that the "london" of 14 is the "last year london" of 12, after which, but before the TU, Andrea visited Paris. This ambiguity is not resolved by the prosody that Andrea uses. Probably, Andrea is talking about a plan (which did not materialize later, for his biographical protocol does not record such a visit).
- Andrea sandwiches "now london" between 14 and 15 probably to bring out the anteriority of 14 and the posteriority of 16 in relation to this TU. But it is equally probable that he says "now london" because he goes on relating the narrative to the HERE and NOW to which he has anchored his EGO and from the vantage point of which he externally observes the events. He has to mention HERE and NOW repeatedly because he has no other linguistic means to relate the events to this spatio-temporal point.

В

- [m: ?how did you find this house? ?through adorno?]
- 17 before i live ... together adorno ... the first time
- 18 after ... another ... side near wood green
- 19 after ... brixton two month
- 20 after ... tufnel park
- 21 now here
- 22 at christmas ... in enfield
- 23 four day
  - [m: ?where did you live in tufnel park?]
- 24 only two three weeks ... in tufnel park
- 25 because ... i change one job ... in highgate village
- 26 live in brixton very long

Analysis and Comments

- "before" seems to be used not as a conjunction but as an adverbial to mean "first of all", also paraphrased as "the first time" by Andrea himself.
- 18-20 The temporal expression "after" is used in the sense of "and then". The temporally succeeding events are stringed in the narrative to reflect their chronology. (The PNO technique.)
- As in 15, Andrea has to mention the NOW and HERE in order to project his future spatio-temporal location from.
- 22 "at christmas". Christmas is posterior to NOW (13th December).
- 24-26 Andrea misunderstands the interviewer's question. He refers to the duration of his stay, using temporal adverbials. 25 does not make it clear whether he first changed the job and then left Tufnel Park as a consequence or whether he left Tufnel Park in order to change the job. But the way he uses "because" in 43 (four months later) shows that he probably changed the job before leaving Tufnel Park. But we cannot be sure.

In this narrative, verbs are used even more sparingly than in the previous one. Only two verb forms "change" and "live" are used. The verbs convey no information about the action's localization in time.

C

- [m: ?how do you travel to work?]
- 27 on the underground
  - [m: ?how long does the journey take you?]
- 28 twenty minutes
- 29 i get up eight o clock
- 30 ta(ke) coffee
- 31 wash
- 32 after underground
- 33 nine o clock in work
- 34 start

- 35 half past two finish
- 36 now i return here
- 37 relax
- 38 after six o clock again ... go to holborn
- 39 finish eleven o clock
- 40 after here
- 41 sleep

#### Comments

Andrea does not give a past narrative of once-happened events but that of iterative ones. The narrative order reflects the real life chronology. The series can be divided into five sub-series each starting with reference to clock time. Only a few verbs in the Vo form are used, which happens to be consistent with the TL usage.

The most significant point in this narrative is the expression "now" and "here" in 36. At this spatio-temporal point (in his flat in the afternoon), Andrea is relaxing (37, Vo form being used). Even in a recurrent narrative Andrea does not lose sight of HERE and NOW and projects the events as being anterior or posterior to it. But we must remember that recurrent events one narrates are basically 'past events with the additional feature that they happened repeatedly and are expected to happen again. So there is nothing unusual about what Andrea is doing.

- D ANDREA, Encounter 4, dated 18.4.83
  - (File: LIEAN 14) (15 months of stay)

[m: ?are you still going to this language school?]

- 42 i finish ... three week ago
- 43 because i ... learn some english
- 44 but i no after ... no practice ... with ... english people
- 45 now in three weeks i remember
- 46 i dont know ten percent
- 47 i change decision

[m: ?now you are "only working you are not bothering with english?]

- 48 only working
- 49 no learn english
- 50 i see three jobs
- 51 no take me ... for language

#### Comments

In this short narrative, recorded four months after the ones discussed above, we find that there has been little development in Andrea's English as far as verb morphology is concerned. A TL speaker would use "had learnt" in 43, "have changed" in 48, "not learning" in 47, "saw" in 50, and "didn't take" in 51. The Ving form "working" used in 48 is clearly in imitation of the one used in the interviewer's question. The indicators of temporality are adverbials or conjunctions. The organisation of the narrative is more complex in the sense that events are not just strung together in the chronological order. Their discoursal order is sometimes different from their chronological order (e.g. in 42 and 43).

## 3.5.1.1.2 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Like Madan, Andrea relies upon context to localize situations deictically and upon PNO to localize them anaphorically. Extract C is a good example of the use of PNO. Since verb morphology has not yet developed in his English, he often relies on the context (i.e. the temporal frame set up by the interviewer's questions) to localize events in time relative to TU. However, when we compare Andrea's English in Cycle 1 with Madan's, we note at once that the use of subordination which results in violating PNO has developed much earlier in Andrea's English than in Madan's. A good example is:

42 i finish (going to the language school) three weeks ago

#### 43 because i learn some english

Even for localizing situations deictically, Andrea depends much less than Madan does on the context. He definitely uses more adverbial expressions for this purpose.

## 3.5.1.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.5.1.2.1 External temporal relations

As productive verb morphology has not yet developed in Andrea's English, he uses only conjunctions and adverbials to localize situations in time, both deictically and anaphorically.

Expression	Relation(s) expressed
before	BEFORE
now	CONTAINED IN TU
but	AFTER
after	AFTER
(three weeks) ago	BEFORE TU
last year	BEFORE TU
at first time	SERIAL

The relation expressed is deictic where TU is involved. He uses "is" to refer to a past situation. This shows that "is" in his English at this stage indicates simple existence, without relating it temporally to any point in time.

#### 3.5.1.2.2 Embedding in time

Productive verbal morphology has not appeared yet. Andrea's use of "speaking" in "no speaking" (03) seems to be on the analogy of "No Smoking". (Andrea is a smoker, travels by the London Underground, and can read English.) The form "working" in 47 seems a repetition of the form used in the interviewer's question. He may not be purposefully using the Ving form. But he does understand its meaning.

Here, Andrea's English presents an interesting contrast with Madan's. We find that during the very first cycle, Madan not only started using the Ving form productively, he also extended its meaning symbolically in non-TL-like ways (but very much in accordance with the English usage of other Punjabi immigrants). Andrea, on the other hand, does understand the meaning of the Ving form, but he displays no special desire to use it.

#### 3.5.1.2.3 Inherent temporal features

Andrea uses the following self-referential expressions:

Durative three year
two year
four day
two month
only two three weeks
very long
twenty minutes
in three weeks

Punctual at christmas
"o'clock" expressions

#### Comments

This extract is not from a narrative but from a role play with a dentist's secretary (played by one of the researchers). In this extract, Andrea uses the Ving forms. In 14 and 16 in this extract, Andrea uses "eating". A TL speaker would normally use "eats" here to denote the iteration of the event. But "is eating" can also be used to stress the ongoingness of the boy's eating, during which he feels pain in his teeth. Andrea seems to mean this by using the Ving form. This approximates the TL usage fairly closely. But, as we have said in the case of Madan's English, this is no guarantee that Andrea has acquired a TL-like grammar and semantics of Ving forms. As we have said above, the basic meaning of the English Ving form is [-PERFECTIVE] and, only by implicature, [+ONGOING]. It is only when the form is used as (a part of) a nuclear verb (-group) that the interpretation "ongoing at a particular point in time" is possible within a particular context. "At a particular point in time" is not an integral part of the meaning of the Ving form in itself. This is shown by the fact that the Ving form can be used as an adjective, as in "flowing water", "barking dogs" in which it does not relate the qualified noun to any point in time. The adjectival use of the participle forms is older than their use as clause nuclei, and the adjectival meaning is still the basic one. We find in Cycle 3, that this is indeed the basic meaning of this form in Andrea's English too.

#### 3.5.2.1.2 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Data from Cycle 2 for Andrea's reference to time are so scarce that no new developments, as far as the use of pragmatic and discursive means is concerned, seem to have taken place. The use of adverbials, "comment" clauses, coordinate clauses and subordinate adverbial clauses etc. in extract A clearly show that he is viewing the whole situation and organizing the plot of the narrative from outside. In spite of Andrea's bad grammar (by the TL standards) a native speaker finds Andrea's narrative style familiar and comprehensible. Madan's and Ravinder's narrative style, on the other hand, puzzles the native speakers of English.

### 3.5.2.2 Andrea's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.5.2.2.1 External temporal relations

As far as expression of these relations is concerned, no new developments take place during Cycle 2. The copula ("is/isnt") refers to bare existence without relating it to any point in time (which is done contextually/adverbially). The only notable expression is "when" used in 09 and 16 which refers to the SIMULTANEOUS relation anaphorically.

#### 3.5.2.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

A very important development here is the emergence of the Ving form "eating" (16). Andrea probably acquired a "passive knowledge" (i.e., understanding) of the Ving form some months before. Like Madan, Andrea does not use an auxiliary form of BE with this form. But, as we have already said, Andrea uses the form in a context in which the ONGOING action represented by the Ving form is related to an outside (belonging to another situation) point in time which is SIMULTANEOUS to the situation represented by the Ving form.

#### 3.5.2.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### Self-referential expressions

Punctual (days of the week)
Iterative twice

#### Comments

This extract is not from a narrative but from a role play with a dentist's secretary (played by one of the researchers). In this extract, Andrea uses the Ving forms. In 14 and 16 in this extract, Andrea uses "eating". A TL speaker would normally use "eats" here to denote the iteration of the event. But "is eating" can also be used to stress the ongoingness of the boy's eating, during which he feels pain in his teeth. Andrea seems to mean this by using the Ving form. This approximates the TL usage fairly closely. But, as we have said in the case of Madan's English, this is no guarantee that Andrea has acquired a TL-like grammar and semantics of Ving forms. As we have said above, the basic meaning of the English Ving form is [-PERFECTIVE] and, only by implicature, [+ONGOING]. It is only when the form is used as (a part of) a nuclear verb (-group) that the interpretation "ongoing at a particular point in time" is possible within a particular context. "At a particular point in time" is not an integral part of the meaning of the Ving form in itself. This is shown by the fact that the Ving form can be used as an adjective, as in "flowing water", "barking dogs" in which it does not relate the qualified noun to any point in time. The adjectival use of the participle forms is older than their use as clause nuclei, and the adjectival meaning is still the basic one. We find in Cycle 3, that this is indeed the basic meaning of this form in Andrea's English too.

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Aspectual verbal morphology

A very important development here is the emergence of the Ving form "eating" (16). Andrea probably acquired a "passive knowledge" (i.e., understanding) of the Ving form some months before. Like Madan, Andrea does not use an auxiliary form of BE with this form. But, as we have already said, Andrea uses the form in a context in which the ONGOING action represented by the Ving form is related to an outside (belonging to another situation) point in time which is SIMULTANEOUS to the situation represented by the Ving form.

### 3.5.2.2.3 Inherent temporal features

#### Self-referential expressions

Punctual (days of the week) Iterative twice

## 3.5.2.3 Summary of the expressions in cycle 2

No notable developments take place except the use of the Ving form in a way that is more TL-like than Madan's.

#### 3.5.3 Cycle 3

#### 3.5.3.1 Temporality in texts

#### 3.5.3.1.1 ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

% A

ANDREA, Encounter 18, dated 5.12.84 (File: LIEAN 33A) (35 months of stay)

[t: your (professional) qualifications in italy]

- 01 if you mean ... the studying were about the some course
- 02 i am ... radio technician
- 03 and ... i studying some electro/industrial electronics ... and electrotechnic
- 04 i think is electrician here
- 05 i have ... a very good experience with domestic appliance
- 06 i make/ i did some jobs in london
- 07 just for my house in italy but no for something else

#### Comments

This short extract, too, is included here to study Andrea's use of the Ving form, primarily.

- 01 "studying" is clearly used as a noun here, like "smoking" about which Andrea once had a discussion with one of the researchers. The noun is seman-tically regarded as plural probably because it involved some courses. Andrea uses the past tense form of the copula as well.
- 03 "studying" is used as a verb here. The Ving form does not contrast in this context with the Vo form "study". But it is clear that by now Andrea has acquired the use of the -ing suffix. So he is most probably using the Ving form intentionally and meaningfully. The most plausible interpretation is that he wants to highlight or emphasize the length of the period (three years, as we saw in the Cycle 1 narrative).
- 06 Self-correction is significant. Andrea has acquired the past tense forms of "do" but not that of "make". "did" is certainly a past tense form used in a TL-like way (unlike Madan's use of "said" and "told"). But we cannot say whether Andrea has acquired "did" for general use or in connection with jobs only. In other words, we are not sure whether he is producing or reproducing someone else's "I did some jobs in ...".

В

ANDREA, Encounter 20, dated 15.3.85 (File: LIEAN 35) (38 months of stay)

[m: ?what was the job for?]

- 08 the job ... for an assistant electrician for chief engineer in ... a laundry company
- 09 i have had the interview
- 10 i go there ..
- 11 ... and ... they ask me something ... about the past experience and ... about the present job to do in the laundry
- 12 i see chief engineer

- 13 and with him we go around to the farm <=firm> to see the equipment
- 14 and everything practically fine
- 15 and ... they told me about the wage the hours to do during the week
- 16 and ... finished
- 17 i go home to ... think about that
- 18 yesterday i phoned them...
- 18.1 "i dont..."/
- 19 /and i tell them
- 19.1 "i dont take the job"
  - [m: ?they offered the job to you last week did they?]
- 20 yes they offer the job
- 21 i told them about my english
- but they dont er ...
  [m: theyre not worried]
  dont worry about
- 23 because i dont know + is very ... gentle person
- 24 i see people the chief engineer and the other men i dont know + may be i dont know
- 25 and they spoke with me very slowly very quiet correctly english
- 26 but i dont take the job
- 27 because the wages very bad
- 28 they give ... one hundred fifty eight for fifty eight hours a week
- 29 they offer me ... a chance for ... improvement
- 30 about one year they offer me about two hundred pounds
- 31 and maybe later maybe ... the place of the chief engineer
- 32 because the chief now is old ... and they want to... a change

### Selective analysis

- "i have had the interview". The very correctness of the expression should set us on our guard against assuming that he has acquired the pattern. In all likelihood, Andrea is simply reproducing an utterance he heard from some rival candidate while waiting for his turn to be interviewed for a job. At the most, he has acquired "I have had X" where the variable X could be tea or coffee or lunch or something similar as well. There is no evidence anywhere else in the data to support the conclusion that he has acquired the underlying abstract HAVE+Ven verbal group pattern.
- 10-16 The use of the coordinating conjunction "and" creates greater cohesion between the two clauses than the mere stringing of clauses (with or without "then"). The seven utterances can be grouped as (10+11) + (12+13+14+15+16). The use of the PNO technique is supplemented in this way. Events follow this way: 10 -> 16. But they are divided into two episodes: 1) Andrea went there and they asked him ... 2) THEN he saw the chief engineer and they went around the firm and everything was practically fine and they told him something and the interview finished. The events are denoted by using both the Vo forms and what are most probably the Past Tense forms.
- The conjunction "and" is not used because a new episode starts here. It is significant that Andrea uses "go", and not "come" here. If Madan were asked to narrate a similar personal experience, he would certainly say "i coming home". Andrea, in contrast to Madan, is observing the past events (in which he himself participated) from a vantage point that is spatio-temporally removed from the scene being described. Both this entry in 10 and exit in 17 are denoted by the verb form "go".
- 18-19 The appearance of regular verb forms with /d/ suffix ("phoned" and "finished"), which are most probably Past Tense forms, is remarkable indeed. Madan and Ravinder have acquired none of them, and in the Andrea data analysed here only these two have been discovered. But still more remarkable, if we compare Andrea's usage with Madan's, is his use of "tell" instead of "told" to mark reported speech when he is quoting his own words. The two forms, as in Madan's case, are contrastively used within the same context. We hypothesised that Madan was being influenced by the semantics of the Perfect Participle and the Imperfect Participle forms in his SL and that "told" in Madan's usage is semantically close to the Punjabi Perfect Participle and the English Past Participle forms. (See Comments on extract D in the Madan data from Cycle 1.) But what about Andrea's usage? The

most plausible explanation that can be offered is that "told" in Andrea's usage is semantically closer to the Italian and the English Past Tense forms. Even if "temporally past" were the basic meaning of the Past Tense form, the sense of temporally remote from the NOW" or "spatially remote from the HERE" or "psychologically remote from the EGO" or logically remote from the POSSIBLE" could be derived by implicature from the basic meaning. While quoting past speech, the speaker can better vouchsafe the accuracy of his own speech which is closer to the EGO than that of a third person which is remote from the EGO. It could be argued that Andrea uses the direct speech and "tell" to create vividness. But this hardly affects our argument. Only that what is temporally and thus psychologically immediate can be vivid. Here it is important to remember that Madan uses the Ving form to create the same impression. For him what is ongoing is more vivid than what is completed. Therefore, the self-correction in 18-19 is highly significant. Since Andrea uses direct quoted speech to create an impression of vividness, he does not wish to introduce it with the past tense (+REMOTE) form "phoned". So he corrects himself and uses the more harmonious present tense form (-REMOTE —-> +VIVID).

- 20 Vo form is used to refer to a past event.
- 21 "told", and not "tell" is used with the first person agent when no past speech is being quoted directly.
- 23 "i dont know" in Andrea's usage mostly means something like "maybe, possibly, perhaps, I am not
- 25 "spoke" is unambiguously a Past Tense form.
- "give" is used in the sense of "offered to give", "would give" or "were ready to give" etc., an action located in the future relative to that point in time.
- 29-30 Vo form "offer" used to refer to the past events in 29 and 30.
- The cause and effect relation, as in 26-27, is indicated by subordinating the "cause" clause for this. 31-32 We have come across no instance where he chose the Past Participle form in preference to the Past Tense form to refer to a past event. If our analysis of Andrea's and Madan's use of "tell" and "told" to mark quoted speech is correct, "told" in Andrea's speech is semantically close to the Past Tense form and not to the Past Participle form as it is in Madan's usage. The verbs in the above extract that should be in the Past Tense form but are not are: "go", "see", "offer", "ask", "don't" and "is". The case of "go" is straight-forward: "went" is totally unrelated phonetically to "go". The grammatical relation between the two is, therefore, not very noticeable. Andrea has acquired "were" (as we have seen) as the Past Tense form of the copula. He probably does not use it here because it is plural. Perceptual factors may be responsible for the absence of a phonetically distinct Past Tense for other verbs in Andrea's English. He may be under the impression that the Past Tense forms and the Present Tense forms of these verbs (as in the case of "put", "cut" and many others) are phonetically identical. Moreover, as we have said before, an interlanguage system, like a child language system, develops rapidly and, at any time, the existence of some anomalies, inconsistencies and contradictions in such a system is inevitable. What is significant, assuming that our analysis is correct, is the emergence of the Past Tense verb forms in Andrea's English.

## 3.5.3.1.2 Indirect means for expressing temporality

With the emergence of the Past Tense forms of some verbs, dependence on the context to localize situations in time relative to TU has further lessened. We also find that PNO is not simply resorted to now but can be used discursively. The occurrence of "and" contrasts with its absence for the purpose of grouping incidents into episodes, as we have seen above.

PNO, as we said earlier, indicates simple chronological succession and nothing more than that. But events in a narrative can be related to one another in some other ways too. What is significant about Andrea's use of "and" is that its discoursal function is very different from what it was in Ravinder's narratives. Ravinder uses simple PNO technique within an episode and "and" (and also "after" and "then") to mark a new episode. It is simple PNO that creates greater cohesion among chronologically ordered events in his narratives. In the Andrea narrative analyzed above, the opposite is the case, as we have seen. Ravinder's narrative appears like an inflated Punjabi sentence in which a group of concatenated verbs without an

intervening conjunction indicates a compact action with various chronological phases and the conjunction (the equivalent of "and") indicates a separate action that chronologically follows. In short, Ravinder's use of "and" is Punjabi-like and Andrea's is very European.

## 3.5.3.2 Andrea's repertoire for temporality

## 3.5.3.2.1 External temporal relations

## (a) Verbal morphology

The following Past Tense forms of irregular and regular verbs are used by Andrea:

did told spoke phoned finished was/were

"Tell" contrasts with "told" in the sense that both the forms are used to refer to actions that happened in the past (BEFORE TU). But "tell" is used in the "historical present" sense to make the report of the action vivid. (It is no accident that "tell" is used to introduce direct quoted speech.) This shows that the basic meaning of the Past Tense form in Andrea's English, as in the TL, is +REMOTE.

### (b) "To" + infinitive

to do

are used for referring to +AFTER (non-deictic future) actions.

## (c) Adjectives

"Past" and "present" are used to refer to situations in the past and at the present time respectively (relative to TU).

## (d) Adverbial expressions

Expression Relation(s) expressed yesterday BEFORE TU CONTAINED IN TU later AFTER and AFTER but AFTER

#### 3.5.3.2.2 Embedding in time

#### Aspectual verbal morphology

In Cycle 2, Andrea used "eating" to refer to an action ongoing at a particular point in time explicitly mentioned. But here he uses "studying" without explicitly stating or even implying such an outside point in time. He uses the Ving form in a way Madan sometimes does to emphasize the prolongedness of a situation. (He studied electronics for three years.) Now we find in retrospect that in utterances 14 and 16 in extract B of Cycle 2, it is the subordinator "when" and not the Ving form that relates the +ONGOING action to an outside point in time.

"I have had the interview" (09) is clearly a formulaic expression or an unanalyzed whole. So we do not discuss it.

#### 3.5.3.2.3 Inherent temporal features

No significant development in Andrea's ability to coin more complex expressions or to express new notions has taken place.

## 3.5.4 Developmental trends in Andrea

We have already given our detailed comments on the development trends observed in Andrea's English. Here we summarize.

#### CYCLE 1

In contrast with Madan and Ravinder, Andrea, while narrating a story, remains firmly anchored in the NOW and HERE of the speech situation. His verb morphology, of course, cannot indicate this. But he inserts special clauses for this purpose. Like Madan, he uses the PNO technique, adverbials and the Vo form to refer both to the once-happened events and the iterative events as well as to the actions planned for the future. However, one feels that Andrea tries to avoid using verbs even in those situations where his lexicon would not fail him. He uses adverbial expressions, both localizing situations in time deictically and anaphorically, more frequently than Madan does.

#### CYCLE 2

Andrea is able to achieve greater cohesion in his narratives than Madan is able to. He uses the coordinator "and" to supplement the use of the PNO technique. The trends noted in CYCLE 1 continue and no other major development is perceptible.

#### CYCLE 3

The most significant development takes place during this cycle: Past Tense forms appear. Andrea's ability to narrate a coherent and sustained narrative with a good plot has emerged with an astonishing suddenness. He clearly adopts a situation-external perspective and manipulates the whole narrative from outside (rather than observe it from inside) in his English, as in his native language. So, the semantics of the full verb forms of English that Andrea uses most is the semantics of tense. Aspect, however, is not missing from Andrea's verb system of English. But Andrea uses the Ving form very rarely, although he is capable of using it in a way that is very similar to the TL usage.

## 3.5.5 Reference to future time by Andrea

Andrea's biography is in many respects very different from Madan's. Insecure and sporadic employment is always worrying him and forcing him to think, plan and talk about the future. Being an educated European with his homeland comparatively nearer, he very often plans his holidays and does not stick to work like a machine as the virtually uneducated Punjabi Madan does. The following extracts show that Andrea not only has to refer to the "simple" future but also has to "dye" it in a variety of modal hues. If our foregoing analysis of the semantics of the verb forms in Andrea's English is correct, he is conscious of the fact that the semantics of the Vo forms in his English is too closely tied to the present time. So he is forced to use various means to make his verbs refer to future actions and events.

#### CYCLE 1

ANDREA, Encounter 4, dated 18.4.83
(File: LIEAN 14) (15 months of stay)
01 i think ... in july finish ... only job ... finish london
02 i return in italy

#### CYCLE 2

ANDREA, Encounter 12, dated 20.01.84 (File: LIEAN 24) (24 months of stay)
03 next work or job ... is for july ... or around july
04 i during ... easter ... i think to ... take some week for holiday

05 i need 06 but i like to go in italy

ANDREA, Encounter 13, dated 13.03.84

(File: LIEAN 25) (26 months of stay)

[m: ?you think your wife and son will come in the summer?]

07 yeah before [m: ?before?]

08 in ... july

[m: the problem of the flat]

09 maybe i take

10 i have to decide ... about ... the flat i like now

11 if ... if i ...

#### CYCLE 3

ANDREA, Encounter 16, dated 24.10.84

(File: LIEAN 31) (33 months of stay)

12 now i have another thing to do \*e\* <= and > like the family like the house like the flat

13 i like to try to buy a house but not now

14 in future maybe in a future

15 if it possible

#### LINGUISTIC MEANS USED

Compiling a repertoire of the linguistic means that Madan uses to refer to the future is futile. But such an attempt in the case of Andrea is revealing.

1. V + to + Vi ('to infinitive')

i think

i think to take

i need

i like to go ... to see my mother

i have to decide

i have another thing to do

i like to try to buy a house

2. Adjectives

next

#### 3. Temporal adverbials

in july during easter

around july

not now

in a future

#### 4. Spatial adverbials

in italy

#### 5. Modal expressions

if i

maybe

if possible

## 3.6 Longitudinal study of another Italian-speaking learner, Lavinia

As the biographical information and the following analysis of Lavinia's data show, she is not an ideal informant because not all her English is naturally and spontaneously acquired through untutored learning.

In the case of Andrea, the little time he spent attending English classes sporadically does not seem to have had any significant effect. Andrea himself once told one of the researchers that he had completely forgotten what he learnt during those classes. This is exactly the case with Ravinder too. But Lavinia's case is totally different. We do not analyze extracts from the Lavinia data but simply list the linguistic means she acquired for referring to time and comment briefly on them.

## 3.6.0 Background information on the informant

LAVINIA (Italian longitudinal)

Sex: Female
Date of birth: 1959

Arrival in Britain: February 1983
Date of first encounter: 23 August 1983

Lavinia was born in Trieste in Italy. She received her education in a scuola media and later on vocational training for two years. She came to England with her husband, who came here to work. Unlike Madan, Andrea and Ravinder, she did not have to worry about employment and earning her living, though she did work in an Italian restaurant for some time. She took an ESL course for ten months in a college of further education. Later on, she also did a pretops course also involving social skills and skills like word-processing etc. (with teachers of mixed nationalities but through the medium of English). Like Andrea, but unlike Madan and Ravinder, she does some self-study too. She has not had any long-term employment. But she regularly comes in contact with the native speakers of English through child-minding activities, visiting her son's school, going to the library and the book club etc.

Lavinia's acquisition of English has been astonishing. But we must remember that all her English is not, strictly speaking, spontaneously acquired. However, it is difficult to exactly measure the contribution of the courses she took at the colleges of further education. She has proved to be a fluent speaker. Indeed, she is more fluent (in terms of the speed of speaking at least – to a terrible exasperation of the transcriber!) than any other informant the British team is studying. Her loquacity during general conversation is simply wonderful. This may be a trait of her personality or it may be because of the fact that she felt extremely relaxed, informal and fully in tune with the women researchers, who started topics that housewives love to discuss. This did not happen in the case of the male and the other female informants.

As we have said earlier, Lavinia's acquisition of English is not entirely *spontaneous* (i.e. untutored). Before she came to England, her husband, who had learnt English at school and college, taught her some English.

Since she did not have to learn the English alphabet, she learnt from English books too. Madan and Ravinder, whose native language is written in a very different script, were denied this privilege. Lavinia reads stories from the English books to her bilingual son. In this way, she has good practice of spoken English and colloquial expressions at home too. Andrea, as we have seen, (silently) reads electronics journals only. Determined to help her husband, who was thinking of setting up a travel agent's firm, she decided to learn book-keeping, typing, word-processing and more English. So she took an ESL course and a pretops (later on a tops) course for learning the skills she needed. All this happened during the period her English was under observation by the Project researchers. Being an extremely sociable and talkative woman, she must have talked a great deal with her childminder, fellow students and, possibly, teachers. So it is very difficult to say how much of her English is spontaneously acquired and how much has been taught to her.

## 3.6.1 Cycle 1

Lavinia had been in England for seven months when the first interview with her was recorded. Her English at the time of this interview is not completely TL-like. But it is closer to the TL than the English of any other informant. Her effortlessly spoken expressions like

"because my husband like london"
"after i had two years"

"i speak with the people with the childminder"
"i am seeing friends"

contrast markedly with those produced in the first interviews by Andrea, Madan and Ravinder, who had lived longer in England than Lavinia.

There are inconsistencies in the grammar of Lavinia's English. She uses the third person singular suffix /-s/ with the verb "like", but during some later interviews she does not use this suffix with other verbs. She uses the Past Tense form "had" in some utterances, but in other utterances in which a Past Tense form is needed, she does not use it. Throughout the period of observation, her English seems to have had two mutually interacting systems of grammar – that of the taught English and that of the "caught" English. With the addition of the numerous reproduced utterances and formulaic expression of the phrase size, the grammatical system of her English has become a terribly complex one. Anomalies and inconsistencies, which are a distinguishing feature of any interlanguage, are all the more to be expected in Lavinia's English. In quoted speech, she changes the person but not the temporal and spatial deixis. During the first interview, she says "i am seeing friend english", but a month later she uses the Ving form without an auxiliary. All her "Present Perfect" expressions – "hes broken", "i have bought" and "my son has write" – do not seem to have been generated by the same grammar. She uses the Past Participle form "bought", but does not use its homophonous Past Tense form, and uses "buy" in its place. Such inconsistencies persist till the very end of Cycle 3.

## 3.6.1.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

There are hardly any personal narratives in her data. All that one finds is references to past situations which lie scattered throughout her conversational discourse. In most cases, the situation under reference is localized in the past by the interviewer's question containing a tensed verb, temporal adverbial or a spatial adverbial (e.g. "in italy") which also localizes the situation temporally. All that Lavinia has to do is to use such questions for temporal scaffolding. But a verb marked for Past Tense is sometimes used by Lavinia in her utterances. This tendency becomes more marked later on. Such being the nature of the data, a discussion of PNO etc. is out of the question.

## 3.6.1.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

## 3.6.1.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression Relation(s) expressed

Ved BEFORE TU

have/has + Ven BEFORE + ADJACENT TU

am + Ving CONTAINED IN TU

before BEFORE

now CONTAINED IN TU when BEFORE + ADJACENT

It is notable that the Past Tense and the Past Participle forms that she uses

Ved Ven went brought left broken said

are those of *irregular* verbs. We have already said above that her system is inconsistent. No other detailed comments are needed, except that she does not use the Ving forms in a way Madan and Ravinder do to highlight situations. Her usage is very much TL-like.

#### 3.6.1.2.2 Embedding in time

### Aspectual verbal morphology

Both the Ving forms and Ven forms which express aspectual distinctions are used by Lavinia. But since she also uses the auxiliaries BE and HAVE (in the Present Tense) in some cases, the emphasis seems to be on the point in time (TU) in relation to which the situation under reference is ONGOING or COMPLETED. Her English is clearly tense prominent, like her SL and the TL English. But, in view of the inconsistencies mentioned above, it is difficult to exactly describe the relevant parts of her grammar.

#### 3.6.1.2.3 Inherent temporal features

From the very beginning, Lavinia displays an ability to produce self-referential adverbial expressions. A selection is given below:

Notion Expression

Durative Four months
fourteen years
for two weeks
only for one week
seven months
(not) long time

Iterative few times
sometimes

Punctual for the moment
six o clock

### 3.6.2 Cycle 2

## 3.6.2.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Dependence on indirect means for localizing situations in time (past; we shall deal with her reference to the future time in a later section) has almost disappeared in the conversational data. Almost all her utterances have verbs and most of the verbs are marked for Past Tense. In the case of the verbs which are not thus marked, we can assume that she has not yet acquired the *morphological* Past Tense forms. But as far as the *grammatical category* Past Tense is concerned, she has acquired it and is using it in her production. A remarkable feature of her speech to come into prominence is her contrastive use of the indirect and the direct speech. For example:

he said my english is not very good he asked me about my son about the school and she say "?how about your son? ?how can you manage?" he say "yes ?but youre sure you can stay at home with your son?"

She uses a Past Tense form to mark indirect quoted speech and Present Tense form to mark the direct quoted speech. We have seen that this is exactly what Andrea does in Cycle 3 and that no Punjabi informant acquired the use of the indirect quoted speech. Lavinia, like Andrea, is using the English Present Tense form to refer to a past event (the "historical present" style of narration). It is important that, like Andrea, and unlike Madan and Ravinder, she uses the Vo form for making a situation vivid. (Madan and Ravinder use the Ving form for this purpose.)

## 3.6.2.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.6.2.2.1 External temporal relations

Relation(s) expressed Expression

BEFORE TU Ved

SIMULTANEOUS to a was + Ving

temporal point BEFORE TU

after AFTER

CONTAINED in TU now

BEFORE TU last friday AFTER later

The Past Tense forms she uses are:

happened stopped slept said went was

Past Tense forms of some regular verbs have appeared.

#### 3.6.2.2.2 Embedding in time

### Aspectual verbal morphology

What we have said about Lavinia's use of the Ving and the Ven forms holds true for Cycles 2 and 3 too.

### 3.6.2.2.3 Inherent temporal features

## Self-referential expressions

Notion

Expression for two hours Durative

until five o clock in the Durative

(Extended+

Right boundary) afternoon

nine o clock in the morning Punctual

### 3.6.3 Cycle 3

## 3.6.3.1 Indirect means for expressing temporality

Lavinia data from Cycles 1 and 2 did not exemplify her reliance on PNO. In Cycle 3, however, she, in the Stage Directions experiment, started describing (in the form of a narrative) what the SL researcher had done. She was supposed to give stage directions to the TL researcher to replicate the SL researcher's actions. This is the only sustained narrative in her data. By this time, she has started using conjunctions like "and" and "then". However, in this extract, she does not use "and" by itself, but only in conjunction with "then" as "and then". But she also relies upon PNO. But since this is not a personal past narrative but is meant to serve the purpose of stage directions, we cannot say whether she would use the pure PNO technique and the conjunctions in this way in her personal past narratives. In this particular episode, she tends to use "then"/"and then" when some major movement of the actor is intended.

#### 3.6.3.2 Learner's repertoire for temporality

#### 3.6.3.2.1 External temporal relations

Expression Relation(s) expressed

Ved BEFORE TU

(BE) Ving SIMULTANEOUS

(and) then AFTER

when BEFORE + ADJACENT

#### The Past Tense forms she uses are:

opened

started

had

got up

came

went

put

sat

took

But she still uses "move" where "moved" is required and she self-corrects from "sit" to "sat" (with a strong stress on "sat").

#### 3.6.3.2.2 Embedding in time

No new developments are noticeable except that the Ving without the auxiliary is now used in non-finite adverbial clauses like "while reading, ..." in a TL-like way. When we come to Cycle 3, it becomes clear that her use of the Ven forms (with or without the auxiliary HAVE) was either confined to formulaic expressions or formed a minor part of the taught part of her grammar. It did not show any development and never became productive in her English. The use of the Ving form (both with and without BE) continued. She used this form in a TL-like way.

#### 3.6.3.2.3 Inherent temporal features

No new developments are noticeable.

## 3.6.4 Developmental trends in Lavinia

In spite of the inconsistencies in Lavinia's grammar of English, some developmental trends are clearly discernible. Her variety of English is clearly more like Andrea's than Madan's or Ravinder's. As far as verbal morphology is concerned, it is the emergence of the Past Tense forms (used for referring to the past events) that is important. It is the Past Tense forms of *irregular* verbs which appear first. But like Andrea, she went on using Vo forms of some verbs right until the end of the period of observation to refer to past events. She appears to have been under the impression that the Vo and the Ved forms of these verbs were perhaps homophonous. Her ability to produce longer and more complex adverbial expressions also increased.

## 3.6.5 Reference to future time by Lavinia

References to the future time lie scattered throughout the Lavinia data. The following extract from the first interview of Cycle 2 is fully representative of her ways of referring to the future time in her English:

File: LIELA 21 Dated 10.05.84

01 <the interview> was about my next course

- 02 because in the future about ... next year my husband will/ would like to open a travel agency with another + in associate with another man if it possible
- 03 and for this reaon i would like to learn ... for my next course english and ... something else like typing or book keeping
- 04 if i need <= i may need> in the future
- 05 and i ve seen three top courses ... or pretop
- 06 i have to work for an interview for next september
- 07 because if you join you get money

It is clear that all the usual types of devices that the English language provides for referring to future - modal auxiliaries ("will", "would"), modal expressions ("would like to", "if ... need", "if possible", "have to"), adjectives ("next"), conditional subordinate clauses (starting with "if") and adverbial phrases like "in the future" - are employed by Lavinia.

## 3.7 Summary of trends for the Italian-speaking learners

In the case of the Punjabi informants Madan and Ravinder, we based such a summary on a study of the data from both of them. In the case of the Italians, however, we have to discount Lavinia and concentrate upon Andrea. But we can be sure that if Lavinia's English had been entirely spontaneously acquired, it would have developed exactly like Andrea's.

1. Initial stage

Verbs are used in Vo or stem form to convey their lexical meaning only. But it is clear from the very beginning that Andrea observes the events from outside, from the vantage point of the TU. His verbal morphology does not allow him to relate the situations under reference deictically to the HERE and the NOW of the speech event. So he does this with the help of adverbials. In order to relate situations anaphorically, he makes use of the PNO technique but he also uses the conjunctions "and", "but", "after", and "before". As far as self-referential adverbial expressions are concerned, he displays an ability to construct them from the very beginning of the period of observation.

#### 2. Later developments

a. Deictic localization

The use of adverbials like "last month" etc. continues till the very end, but Past Tense forms of verbs (at first of some irregular verbs then of a few regular verbs) appear and reliance upon the indirect means (e.g. interviewer's questions and the context) lessens with time. With the emergence of the Past Tense forms, the Vo or stem forms can be used contrastively. Both Andrea and Lavinina mark the direct quoted speech with the Present Tense forms of "say"/"tell"/"ask".

b. Anaphoric localization

With the acquisition of conjunctions like "but", "after", "then" and "and" reliance on the PNO technique lessens. But the Italian informants seem to use these conjunctions mainly for the purpose of marking different degrees of discoursal cohesion among the situations in the narrative, i.e., to group the incidents into episodes, to mark contrast (in the case of "but") etc. Inherent temporal features of situations (i.e. whether or not the situation has a left and/or a right boundary) do not seem to determine or affect the use of these conjunctions. The use of subordinators like "when" and "because" which relate situations anaphorically and may result in a violation of PNO develops earlier and is much more frequent in the speech of the Italian informants. The Punjabis use them very rarely and generally avoid violating the PNO.

c. Aspectual notions

Both Andrea and Lavinia use the Ving forms of verbs. But their use of these forms is more or less TL-like. Andrea does not use the Ven forms except in formulaic expressions. Lavinia's use of these forms is not very significant either and she uses the HAVE + Ven constructions only in a few utterances. Neither Andrea nor Lavinia show any special liking for the Ving forms, and they use them in a TL-like way and only when it is appropriate to do so by the TL standards.

## d. Self-referential adverbials

Both Andrea and Lavinia not only use such adverbial expressions more frequently as their English develops but also acquire an ability to produce longer and more complex expressions. But when we compare the Italian informants' use of these expressions with that of the Punjabi informants, we find that the latter tend to use them more frequently. But this point is not conclusive because of the fact that we have based this impressionistic conclusion on various types of data which were not comparable in the strictest sense.

## e. Reference to future time

The Italian informants' achievement is certainly much better than that of the Punjabis. Both Andrea and Lavinia acquired the use of the modal verbs, modal expressions like "if possible", "would like to" and of adverbial expressions like "in future".

## 3.8 Generalizations and hypotheses about causal factors (for all learners)

It is one of our fundamental assumptions that our informants do not simply acquire a store consisting of adverbial expressions, conjunctions, and some verbal morphology and learn to use them to refer to a pre-categorized world one of whose dimensions is temporal. Our learners acquire a structured repertoire underlying which is a system that generates their utterances within particular contexts. The temporal dimension of the reality they wish to refer to is symbolized to a great extent by the systems they have at their disposal at the time of speaking.

All the three languages (English, Punjabi and Italian) we are concerned with are Indo-European languages. Though the TMA system of Punjabi is very different from that of English and Italian (and is closer to that of Arabic or Turkish), in all the three languages it is the verb that is the nucleus of most clauses in which temporality is referred to. This is why we have, throughout our analysis, paid close attention to the evolving verb systems. Whether a particular temporal relation or feature is referred to by verbal morphology or by adverbials/conjunctions is very important. Since it is the meaning expressed by the verb (and its morphology, if there is any) to which temporal distinctions are most relevant (Bybee 1985), it is the TMA-related meaning of the verb or the verb-form or the complex verbal nucleus that determines, to a great extent, the choice of other means (such as adverbials) that a speaker employs to indicate temporality. The developments we noticed are summarized below. Here we take note only of those expressions which our informants produced, and we ignore those which they almost certainly reproduced as formulaic expressions or unanalyzed wholes.

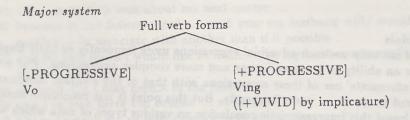
# The grammar of the verb in Madan's and Andrea's English

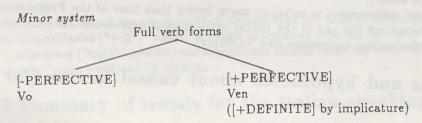
We have said above that Ravinder's English is very similar to Madan's and that the grammatical system of Lavinia's English is mixed and often inconsistent. So we provide below the grammatical sketches of the temporality system of Madan's and Andrea's English only as it is at the close of the period of observation. Madan's system is, of course, Ravinder's system too, and Andrea's system is very similar to Lavinia's. A few minor differences are noted below.

Our preceding analyses suggest that from the very beginning Madan's and Andrea's grammars of the verb have been developing on different lines, though they share some features. Madan, because of his cultural and linguistic background, has adopted the situation-internal perspective as his usual and unmarked perspective. Since syntax is a microcosm of discourse, the semantics of the full verb forms is the semantics of aspect. Andrea, on the other hand, uses both the aspect-denoting and the tense-denoting verbal morphology but shows a clear preference for the latter.

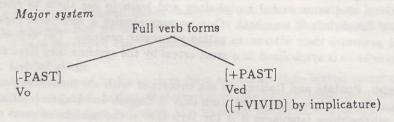
At the close of the period of observation, we see that Madan's and Andrea's systems are still developing and are not yet fully integrated. Each of these systems appears to consist of two sub-systems, a major one and a minor one. The sub-systems seem largely autonomous. In each of them, there is a marked verb form and an unmarked one. The marked member of the opposition is used for conveying some special meaning and the unmarked one to cover the territory that excludes the special meaning. The division is dichotomous - X versus non-X.

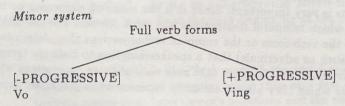
MADAN



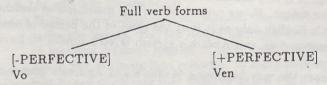


#### ANDREA





This system is more significant in Lavinia's grammar than in Andrea's. In addition, she seems to have another minor system too:



The fact that Madan's system is more like that of Punjabi than that of English is clearly discernible if our analysis is correct. Andrea's system, on the other hand, is more TL-like, but it is also like that of his native language Italian. Various reasons can be given for why these two systems developed on different lines. But the influence of the semantics of the verb forms of the native language that provides the prototypical semantics we discussed in Section 3.1 is undeniably the most potent, if not the only, one. But an explanation must be added here in order to ward off any misunderstanding: this influence is not as crude as some people in the past thought. It is much more than mere "transfer" or simple literal translation. An interlanguage is a variety of the target language, and not of the source language, and it develops within a TL environment. So the influence of the TL grammar, semantics and phonology is bound to be extremely significant. "Genes" from both the SL ("father") and the TL ("mother") determine the "features" of the interlanguage. Pushing

this imperfect genetical analogy a bit further, the interlanguages of two or more learners with the same SL and TL will have "family resemblances", but we must not expect them to be exactly alike. This, as we have seen, is precisely the case with our informants.

Below we describe in detail how these developing systems manifest themselves in Madan's and Andrea's English.

#### A comparison of Madan's and Andrea's ways of referring to time

#### a) Similarities

The gross similarities that are immediately noticeable are that both of them start with very similar linguistic resources at their command – simple verb forms and conjunctions/conjunctive adverbs "before" and "after". Both rely on the PNO technique of stringing states and events in discourse to reflect their real life chronology. By the time we come to Cycle 2, we find that they acquire some verbal morphology. The Ving forms are more conspicuous, though they are more numerous in Madan's repertoire. Madan has also acquired some forms like "told" and probably "said" (whose pronunciation is very often ambiguous between "say" and "said"). Both these acquirers have acquired the ability to construct complex adverbial phrases to refer to duration, frequency, inception, termination etc. of states and events. The use of these adverbial expressions enables them to make their narratives more complex and to rely less on the PNO technique. The trend continues in Cycle 3.

#### b) Differences

The differences between the repertoires of the linguistic means to refer to temporality that Madan and Andrea have acquired are far more significant. If our foregoing analysis of these differences is correct, a number of startling conclusions and interesting questions emerge.

- (i) It cannot be a mere accident that Andrea uses far fewer Ving forms ("working", "eating" and "studying" only in the data analyzed above) than Madan does, and that Madan uses only two verb forms "said" and "told" that sound like Past Tense forms while Andrea uses more such forms.
- (ii) The fact that Andrea, while quoting his own words, introduces quoted speech with "tell", which contrasts with "told" within the context, and that Madan uses "tell" and "told" in a very different way to mark quoted speech (direct only), cannot be without significance.
- (iii) Madan's narrative technique of ego-shift transporting his ego spatio-temporally along the flow of the narrative and Andrea's remaining firmly anchored in the NOW of the interview situation could be nothing more than their idiosyncratic or culture-specific ways of story-telling. But it would be wrong to simply assume this uncritically without investigation whether or not this difference is related to those noted above. Syntax is a microcosm of discourse. (It may not be mere coincidence that the South Asian and South-east Asian cultures that use this narrative technique have aspect-prominent languages.)

ASPECT, we may recall, indicates situation-internal time without localizing the situation in time relative to some situation-external point of deictic temporal reference. TENSE, on the other hand, shows situation-external time, by relating a situation to another situation or point in time, which is typically, but not invariably, the NOW or the time of the speech event. To use the distinction metaphorically, Andrea, who while narrating a story, places his EGO outside the series of events, assumes a TENSE-perspective. Madan, on the other hand, by placing his EGO inside the narrative, and shifting it spatio-temporally for every new episode, assumes an ASPECT-perspective. These are their usual, habitual and unmarked perspectives, determined ultimately by the cultures they come from. (An individual is a microcosm of his culture.) But this does not mean that they are unable to adopt the opposite perspective. Andrea does sometimes refer to situation-internal time and Madan does comment upon situations, in the backgrounded utterances, from the point of view of the TU. But when they do so they adopt a "marked" perspective.

When discourse shrinks into a clause, the unmarked perspective remains unchanged. The unmarked perspective for an English clause is the situation-external TENSE perspective. This is why TENSE is formally obligatory in an English clause. The unmarked perspective for a Punjabi clause is the ASPECT perspective. But Punjabi is still in a transitional state in its movement away from its ancestor, a TENSE-prominent language, but its status as an ASPECT-prominent language is not in doubt. Summarizing what we have said, the prototypical meaning of the least marked verb-form in Punjabi is aspectual and that of the least marked form in English is related to tense. (We leave aside the totally unmarked forms, which have a special status and indicate simply the meaning of the verb without indicating any perspective.)

We have already said (3.1.2) that Punjabi has a predilection for, and is particularly sensitive to, completed actions and events. We can hypothesize that although Madan appears to have started using the Vo forms of the English verbs to convey their lexical meaning only, he must have been from the very beginning predisposed to associate perfective aspectual meaning with these forms in narrative discourse. So they served his purpose excellently in narrative clauses without tormenting his grammatical conscience (as appears to have been the case with Andrea). When he acquired the phonetically conspicuous Ving form, which he must have heard used frequently at his workplace to refer to the work being done on the various machines, he eagerly seized upon this form and its proper +PROGRESSIVE semantics because this aspect-denoting form supplied a much needed marked pole for his sytem to develop any further. (Here it should be pointed out that the meaning of the Punjabi Imperfective Participle is much broader. It includes some other features besides PROGRESSIVE. Punjabi also has a periphrastic Progressive form which is used when progressivity is highlighted or emphasized.) No sooner did he acquire the Ving form than he started using it to convey, by implicature, meanings like +PROLONGED, +VIVID, +CONSPICUOUS, etc., partly for discourse purposes. (It appears that in Andrea's inter-language the marked pole of the dominant system was supplied by the Past Tense forms.) If we disregard the formulaic expressions, the only Past Participle forms that have appeared in Madan's English are "told" and "gone" (and probably "said"). We have seen that "told" is used by him to mark the (relative) status of the speaker whose words are quoted in a narrative. "Gone" is used to mark the end of an episode in a narrative and not as a general-purpose verb form. So these forms either lie outside the temporality system proper or constitute a minor system. Their meaning is clearly +PERFECTIVE rather than +PAST or +REMOTE.

What puzzles one initially is that in the Andrea data narratives depicting past events are conspicuously scarce or missing, although he is by no means a bad conversationist. He can talk on various topics, discuss things and do role play. When he is forced to talk about past happenings he tries to avoid the use of verbs. If the meaning of the verb is clear from the context or the interviewer has used it in her question, Andrea almost certainly avoids it. He appears to use verbs only when he cannot do without them. This state of affairs goes on in the first two cycles. When we come to the third cycle we are surprised to have from him a narrative with a coherent and compact plot. We also find that by this time Andrea has acquired Past Tense forms. Could there be a connection between the emergence of a good narrative compared with which all Madan's and Ravinder's narratives appear to be either strings of events or collections of episodes?

We can hypothesize that since Andrea's native language is a tense-prominent langue, he correctly perceived from the very beginning that the basic meaning of the English Present Tense form is -REMOTE. So he instinctively felt uneasy while using this form to refer to Past actions. Another possibility is that he used the verb to convey its lexical meaning only and adverbials to localize states and events in time. He definitely has been using more adverbials for this purpose than Madan does from the very beginning. While Madan looked for a semantically +PROGRESSIVE form to contrast with his -PROGRESSIVE Vo form and acquired the use of the -ing suffix and developed a semantics of the Ving form, Andrea was in search of a Past Tense form from the very beginning, a form that should be semantically +REMOTE or +PAST. Unluckily for him, it is not very easy to find this form in English until your ears have got used to the English phonetics and phonology and you have had some experience of English in a variety of situations. Ving form is used a lot in actual work situations, especially in factories where people talk about what is going on. This is not the case with the Past Tense form. Andrea has in fact acquired the use of the Ving form but is not very keen to use it. Its existence and status appear to be marginal in his system. Unlike Madan, Andrea also uses "tell" and "told" contrastively. But, as we have seen, his usage is very different from Madan's. We argued that this is an evidence that his English is tense-prominent. When, towards the end of the third cycle, Andrea does acquire the Past Tense form, he comes into his real element. As an external observer of past events, he can manipulate a narrative from without and bring about an organic unity and compactness in its plot, bring about a harmonious fusion of the "complicating action" and the "evaluation" because he is managing both from outside, and not, like Madan, complicating action from the inside and "evaluation" from outside.

If this explanatory analysis is correct, then we are justified in concluding that from the very beginning Madan and Andrea were temporalizing situations and events in different ways and that the similarities in their repertoire we noticed were forced upon them by situational urgencies and were deceptive in the sense that they concealed beneath them two different systems developing in different directions. The English

spoken by the Punjabi immigrants ("Singh's English") has been under observation by Industrial Language Units in England for some years. But nobody has yet analyzed temporality (or anything else) in any detail in "Singh's English". All the "Singhs" use the English verb forms in a way that is very similar to Madan's. Madan may have acquired some of his English from the English speech of other "Singhs" at his workplace. But, then, how "Singh's English" came into existence is also a question.

The influence of the lexico-grammatical systems of both the SL and the TL can be observed in the acquisition process. The picture which emerges is quite a simple one – an adult acquirer tries to discover in the TL a system that is similar to that of his SL, and if he does not discover any, he tries to construct one; but since it is the TL material he has to use, the outcome is invariably a hybrid which is an autonomous system (often consisting of loosely or tightly integrated sub-systems) which partakes of some features of both the "parent" systems but is identical to neither.

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